National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXX. NO. 39. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1870. WHOLE NO. 1,547

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York.
THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.
AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*
WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page.

THE BALLOT FOR COLORED MEN.

ORANGE, N. J., Jan. 18th, 1870.

To the Editor of the Standard:

YOUR note appended to an article copied into THE STANDARD of Jan. 15th, entitled "The Question of Woman Suffrage," perhaps makes it needful for me to define my position. When I wrote the sentence, "All other men may express their will by the use of the ballot," it seemed to me that, so nearly had the United States consummated the act of justice contemplated in the Fifteenth Amendment, it was safe to predicate the equality of all men before the law. But, God forbid! that on this subject we should "reckon without our host." It would be a fearful failure if, having builded the arch of emancipation at such cost and peril, we should now hold back its very keystone. The Fifteenth Amendment is this keystone, and I am glad to read, in the last number of THE STANDARD, these hope-inspiring words: "Twenty-two States have ratified it. There is a fair prospect that, with proper efforts, the other six States needed to incorporate it into the Constitution may be obtained."

It is to be regretted that when the American eagle spread his wing over the down-trodden slave, to instate him in the rights of citizenship, he did not extend it over woman also. According to the eternal law of Justice, this should have been done. But it is plain that the procession of events tended not to this end. Never can the Spirit of Benificence complete its work at one stroke. The age had slowly ripened to the *idea* of negro emancipation, and the great event was precipitated by the bloody hand of war. Thirty years of unparalleled moral warfare, and four years of fratricidal strife on gory battle-fields were needed to awaken the conscience of the nation to justice for the slave.

Woman's emancipation has not been thus pressed upon the attention of the people. While there is every reason for her enfranchisement that could be urged for the enslaved black man, yea more, the American mind has not yet grown to the *idea*. What disasters may be needed to facilitate this growth, we know not. It may depend wholly upon the vigor with which we press our claims. Ours is a moral warfare, and our weapons are those of the spirit alone. The cannon's roar will not be heard on the sunny plains of the South, nor will those plains be deluged with the blood of ten thousand martyred freemen. But the victory is to be won by the strong, brave hearts of refined, intelligent women; the sisters of noble brothers, the wives of great-souled men, and the mothers of beautiful babes; those who understand the word "consecration," and will give their best energies to the elevation of Woman, and through her of the human race.

While thus toiling and believing, we rejoice that those for whom our Cause stood still during the war are on the eve of self-government—that they bid fair soon to exercise the right of the elective franchise. During the bloody contest we were content to wait; not only so, but we were fain to withdraw our energies from the Woman Cause and devote them to that which would emancipate the slave. How short-sighted and inhuman would be an effort now, or even a wish, to hinder the consummation of that mighty struggle of a nation for the freedom of its sons! How selfish and ignoble would be the desire to keep back the emancipated, just arising from the overseer's lash and the heart-agonies of slavery, from reaching out to seize the symbol of equality, because, forsooth, the world was not ripe for granting Woman's enfranchisement with that of the slave. Nay, let the Fifteenth Amendment be speedily ratified by the States, and that will pave the way for another and a broader movement, for a nobler and wiser act of National Legislation, whereby Woman will be clothed upon with the power and dignity of American citizenship.

MARY F. DAVIS.

BREAD VERSUS THE BALLOT.

THE WORKINGWOMEN'S PETITION FOR A GARDEN HOMESTEAD AND EDUCATIONAL AID LOAN.—THE NEW ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SOMETHING more than a year ago, the people of Massachusetts saw a "new thing under the sun," whereat some wondered, and some mocked, but some said: "let it be, lest if it be the work of God, that we stand not in the way thereof."

But like many other new things it found little favor, at first, from the wealthy, the wise, the fashionable, or the servile throng.

True, no flourish of trumpets, no martial pomp heralded its advent; no proud array of scholastic lights, gave it their sanction and seal; but *its birthplace was a garret*, its friends and followers, were the despised ones of earth, the paupers and sick, the outcasts and slaves of the North; the Scribes, Pharisees and craftsmen of Ephesus would have none of it, but the *common people* heard of it gladly and the *toiling white slaves* of *Boston* hailed it as the sweet music of Bethlehem, for it spoke hope to their souls, that even for them, as well as for the black man,—the chattel slave of the South, a way of escape was at hand.

For the first time in the recorded history of the race, the *working-women* had found a tongue, and with an articulate voice, were asking to be heard in their own behalf; to be now recognized as persons, and no longer as things; were telling their sufferings and wrongs, and asking not for charity, but *justice*; not for the Ballot, but *bread*; not for place in politics, but place to *live*; not for the *almshouse crust*, nor the *workhouse whip*, but for *land* and *homes*; for *education* and *independence* that they might stand in the struggle for life, in the great preparation for eternity, in the performance of all *God-commanded* duties, side by side with their brothers and their sons, their husbands and their fathers.

These crushed, suffering, heart-broken women, who were dependent on the daily labor of their own hands for the supply of all their temporal wants, and most of whom were unable even with the utmost industry and economy of time to earn an average wage of 25 cents a day, had found courage by the very extremity of their misery, to come boldly to the source of power, and ask their brothers, seated on the throne, that some way be guaranteed to all women, whereby they might be enabled to earn for themselves an honest, comfortable, and honorable livelihood. Most of these women are the children of the State, and the great mass were born in the Athens of America, and trained to young womanhood in its scholastic institutions, were therefore wholly unfitted, physically and mentally, to fight the stern battle of life, in its shops and kitchens.

Many of these poor working women had seen brighter days and been the petted favorites of fortune in their girlhood years, and some have given their dearest and best, at their country's demand, to perish by the battle-field. Many of these poor women possess talents that might grace any social position. Their feet have travelled learning's paths till custom, or law, interposed its, "thus far but no farther," against their upward progress. Such women could starve, but not beg for alms; and the story how they managed to *exist* on the scanty pittance they were able to earn, and still hold fast a respectable position in life, would win pity from the hardest heart. Through poverty and hunger, nakedness and cold, they maintained their integrity and patient trust in God, and though society left them unsheltered, having not where to lay their heads; (counting these immortal souls of *less value* than its birds, ducks, squirrels, deer and *stone* women) they preferred even this to an association with the evil or the depraved, and steadily refused to accept charity from those who in their worldly wisdom, would brand poverty as a crime. Can our American fathers and brothers call this a false pride? Will they not rather glory in it, and rejoice with me, that the poor, sad working women, who have been all through the ages of the past, the world's water-drawers, wood-hewers, and brick-makers; who have been led unresisting and dumb as sheep to their slaughter, have at last found an utterance.

Will not all humanitarians and Christians, rejoice that the Spirit of God has breathed into them also the breath of life, the desire of freedom, and they are awaking from their sleep of ages, and asking, though stammeringly it may be, for their share of the world's work; for the opportunity of a thorough, classical, scientific, *domestic*, industrial, and religious education, and asking all this not as a charity, but as a homestead loan from the State, which shall in no wise degrade the recipient; but as one equal might receive of another a business favor; which would not only much benefit the nominal receiver, but in tenfold measure the loaner, or as a child might without shame or blame, ask and receive of a parent, the food, shelter, raiment, and instruction which is indispensably necessary in order to enable it properly to prepare for, and do its allotted life work, and fulfil the divine intention in its creation.

Viewed in *this* light, the working women's new movement, asking for *land and homes of their own*, as in their opinion the *only way* whereby, *any* education, work and wages, can ever be honorably and equitably *insured to them;* assumes an importance second to *no* national, social, or even religious topic. *It is the question of the hour.*

For eighteen hundred years, woman has been legally robbed of her *home, self, children*, and *earnings*, in the name of religion; she has been bidden to keep silence in the Church and State, while the robbers were trying to christianize the world over, women's starved souls, crushed hearts, blighted intellects, and prostrate, manacled bodies. What wonder they failed! What wonder that all the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty? That the one true, and only wise God is still almost wholly, the "unknown God," even in lands called Christian. That even here, our jails are *full* of criminals, and all sorts of rascality goes unpunished? That *too* many of our women are irreligious and our little children vicious and headstrong, and our country cursed with war and pestilences.

What wonder, that the governing classes of the world have generally failed to recognize the common brotherhood and legal equality of all *men*, and usually considered themselves as superior to the common herd, and entitled to the slavish obedience of those who did the world's useful work. But a new era is dawning. We are just beginning to learn that as heat cannot descend, but must ascend; so religion, reforms, education, or even common morality and business honesty, cannot progress from the ruling classes downward, but like leaven in the dough must first permeate the very lowest strata of society, and work upwards through the entire social mass, through the primal agencies of the home and family. It was a glorious day for humanity, when the laboring-men banded together, asking that the rights of labor be respected, and all *males* be declared equal before the law. It was a day still brighter with hope for our race, when our wealthy, talented, fashionable, and earnest Christian women, asked leave to stand by man's side in the nation's councils.

But brighter and more glorious than both in the future annals of our redeemed world, will be the day when the confessedly poor and ignorant working-women, spoke for themselves; and putting aside all tricks and shams, planted themselves on the primal foundation, *woman's need for homes*, and asked in their own behalf, not for themselves the ballot, but *bread;* not for political spoil and place, but for the privilege of owning, each one, a *little home of her very own*. For on these little homes hang all our hope for the *morality, Christianity* and *Liberty* of our country. This, these poor women feel to be their great need. Stern want has taught them, that the "one thing needful" to woman, is now, a little home of her own. This secured, all other *good* things will be added unto her. If she have children she can then train them in the shelter of her own home to walk in the ways of God, they will love and honor her all their lives and her husband will rise up to bless her.

This is a practical *philanthropic* and *missionary* work; as well as a good paying investment for taxpayers. The working people want it; and capitalists will do well to take stock in it. Last spring we had nearly 1,000 signers in aid of this petition, and now very few object to it who have had any opportunity to study the matter. Whether this precise form of our petition which I send you is the very best thing possible, or not, the subject itself is worthy of *careful study* and *candid discussion. This*, I hope it will receive from *all* your readers, and if any of them can devise any plan, better calculated to aid the *working people, women children*, and MEN than this, no doubt the working women will gladly hear it, and act upon it.

AURORA H. C. PHELPS.

P. S. The following slip is the form of a petition in aid, which if any one wishes to aid us in this matter, can be copied, signed and sent to the Legislature through your Representative. A. H. C. P.

PETITION.

The undersigned respectfully offer this Petition in aid of the Petition of Miss Aurora H. C. Phelps, and others, for a Garden Homestead Home, and Educational Aid Loan: as in duty bound will ever pray.

Attach similar sheets to this, and get as many signatures as possible, and send to the Legislature through your Representatives.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

PETITION.

[NOTE.—This petition is sent to you, because we know you are interested in every measure of labor-reform. Will you be kind enough to secure the services of some woman of your place, equally interested with yourself in these questions, to circulate this document for signatures in your vicinity? When as many names as convenient are secured, please return the petition to Miss AURORA H. C. PHELPS, *American Workman* Office, 37, Cornhill, Boston. Let us have prompt action, and as many names of laboring women and men, as possible.]

To the Honorable, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (which may God protect and prosper!) in General Court assembled.

We, the undersigned, working-women of the City of Boston, dependent for our daily bread upon the daily labor of our own hands, humbly make known to your Honorable Body, that we are insufficiently paid for our labor, scantily clothed, poorly fed, and badly lodged:

That the mere physical health of many of us is becoming, or has already become, thoroughly undermined by habits of prolonged work, performed under the constant influence of deleterious conditions:

That many of us suffer in our moral natures, through the lack of proper society with each other, and with those whose influence would have a tendency to strengthen us and elevate us, we being prevented by a natural pride, from showing ourselves with such clothing as we have at command, either at church or in the company of persons whom we respect:

That we are, to a great extent, deprived of the consolations of the Christian religion, by being occupied throughout the week with incessant toil, thus being compelled through sheer necessity, to bring up the arrears of our household duties by working on the Lord's Day:

That many of our sisters are actually forced to make up for the insufficiency of their earnings, by a recourse to avocations ruinous to themselves and dangerous to the whole community:

That we are harshly judged by persons in prosperity, who do not stop to reflect that we are called upon to face trials, necessities, and temptations, to which the wives, sisters, and daughters of the members of your Honorable Body are never subjected; and that, in this way, our progressive isolation from redeeming moral influences is becoming more and more marked.

We are poor, ignorant women, with insufficient education, and without proper training. We do not presume to dictate any plan for our own relief. You know better than we do what the circumstances of our case require. It is the humble prayer of your petitioners, that you would think for us, care for us, and take counsel from your own kind hearts to do for us better than we know how to ask.

We nevertheless pray your Honorable Body to cause to be purchased, in the neighborhood of Boston, a tract of good cultivable land; and to lay out the same in suitable lots, some of half an acre, some of an acre, and so on, to lots of three and five acres, with a good (but the cheapest possible) house on each lot. It is our desire that these lots should be let on lease to poor working-women of Boston, to whom the State would be willing to furnish rations, tools, seeds, and instruction in gardening, until such time as the women would be able to raise their own food, or otherwise become self-supporting: the payment of rent to commence with the third year only; and the rent to be then so graduated, and so applied as purchase-money, that each woman might, in a reasonable time, pay off, in the form of rent, the entire cost to the State of the lot on which she lives, with all other necessary incidental expenses, and become the sole proprietress of the lot in fee-simple: or, if it be thought preferable, each lot may be held in trust by the State for the sole use and benefit of the woman who has paid for it under the form of rent, to pass to her female heirs in the event of her death. And it is our further desire, that these homesteads may be exempted from all taxation and from all process for debt, and that the title to them may be non-transferable to any male person whatever.

We know that difficulties will at once suggest themselves to your minds; but we think that all serious objection to our plan may be easily answered. Is it our fault, that the women of Massachusetts greatly outnumber the men? That we are precluded, by our relative weakness, from success in business competition with the men, we being formed by nature to help the men, and not to compete with them? It is evidence of great distress when women call for guarantees for separate existence; and it is not, at all their fault, that they cannot, at this day and hour, find for themselves husbands and homes.

We are assured that our petition, when you hear it, will awaken pity in your hearts, and that you will not receive it with indifference and neglect.

Is it any worse for women to be collected together in a separate village by themselves, where they may exercise a moral influence upon each other, where their whole natures are invigorated by working upon the soil and in the open air, than it is for these same women to be scattered, as they now are, in the by-streets of a large city, where they have no collective responsibility, and where they are subjected to nameless and numberless necessities, trials, and temptations? If it were in your power to give us good and kind husbands, and suitable homes, thus making our condition something distantly approximating to that of your own wives, we might consent to withdraw this petition. It is not of our own choice that we ask you to secure to us the mere conventual existence we propose. It is no better for woman to be alone than it is for man; and if, by the inscrutable decree of an All-wise Providence, our existence is frustrated, and we live but half lives, not fulfilling our whole destinies as women upon the earth, are we unreasonable in asking that our condition shall be made as tolerable as circumstances permit? We do not ask you to give us husbands; we require no husbands; what we say on that head, we say in the way of argument only, and in the effort to persuade you to give us such homes as you can. Many of us are betrothed with a betrothal which is now irrevocable. What other women have in domestic happiness, we have, very many of us, in the memories of the past, and in the present proud consciousness of unheralded honor and glory. Our hearts are buried six feet under the sod, all the way from Virginia to Texas. The battle-flags at the State House belong to us, for it is we who have paid down the price for them; those of you, and those only, share with us in the ownership, who have had sons slain under their folds. No living veteran, and no civilian father of a dead soldier, will make light of this our humble petition.

We have further to request, that, if you deign to give us a hearing, you will call some of our number before you, and cross-question us, thus eliciting the required testimony. We are poor, ignorant women, unable to arrange our own ideas, or to properly state our own case; but we think we can answer your questions.

We hope no one will be allowed, except at our own express desire, to speak before your Committee in our name.

Such time as you may be disposed to give us, will be occupied, we hope, with an investigation of the matter presented by this petition, and not by discussions of universal philanthropy.

And now, praying that the Eternal Lawmaker, who alone hath inherent immortality, who is the invisible and the only wise God, may have you continually in holy keeping, and incline your hearts to give a favorable answer to this our humble petition, we, who have no vote, no voice in public affairs, remain, as always, loyal subjects of the glorious old Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

THE RUSSIAN LABOR QUESTION.

THE LAND TENURE—THE KOLOKOL—OPPRESSION OF RUSSIAN SERFS—PICTURE OF A RUSSIAN COMMUNE—EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

BARCELONA, Spain, Nov. 30th.—The question which agitates the Russian working classes, though an old one and little susceptible to the variations that characterize the labor movement of Western Europe, is particularly interesting, since it is based, by force of circumstances, upon the very principle which forms the subject of theory and debate, of much speculation and of little application, and the more enlightened populations of Germany, England, and France. The question of the tenure of lands has not only crept into England, where system is, perhaps, more than in any other country, abused by legalized land monopolies; but it begins to enter as an important ingredient into the discussions of every Congress of which the elevation of the working classes is the object. The point, for instance, that engrossed the time and intelligence of the Congress at Basil, in Switzerland, was that of the justice or injustice of the possessorship in landed estates, and it is this phase and little else that makes this Congress memorable. Legalized aristocracies all derive their importance from and secure themselves, to a large degree, upon this so-called right of possessorship in lands, and the misery their career has fastened upon the race is unfortunately more visible than the logic in the theories of its redemption. It is, therefore, not the Russian question in abstract, as holding up before humanity a lesson on the allotment of goods, that becomes so specially interesting at this moment, but the Russian system, as a practical auxiliary in enlightening our reason upon these grave subjects, so fundamentally revolutionary and subversive of the adopted forms of society. I have, during my travels, gleaned many important facts and statistics apropos to this patriarchal customs of distributing the products of the land.

There is an interesting journal called the *Kolokol*, published in Geneva, and devoted to this Russian question, from which many important details may be extracted, showing that the system resembles a coöperative farm. Before the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander there had been much dissatisfaction from time to time, caused by an augmentation of the imposts exacted from these tenants in the reign of the Empress Catharine. Fearing to levy an arbitrary tax, and wishing to replenish the public treasury by crushing the growing prosperity of these little communes, which exist in great numbers throughout the Empire, she cunningly effected her purpose by gradually raising the *impôts foncieres*, which were called "the levy of the *Tzar*." These ungenerous exactions, as well as many others which followed, were assented to, if not actually instigated, by a powerful and overbearing aristocracy (of whose estates the communes formed a part), and in course of time a species of reciprocal hostility, or aversion, assumed shape and organization between the serfs and their masters. This feeling was perfectly natural on the part of the oppressed, since they are too intelligent to overlook the aggressions of those whom they consider as possessing no further right to their soil than the right of conquest. Such is the origin of the present labor question in Russia, which resembles more our ancient strife for free colonies before the Revolutionary War than our present strife for social economy since the close of the Rebellion. In order to show that the abolition of serfdom does not settle the grievance, but on the contrary renders the contest keener by liberalizing and enlarging the scope of ideas, it is necessary to draw a plan of a Russian commune. On the northern border of a plot of fertile territory, containing say 100,000 acres, is situated the villa, stables, summer-houses, etc., of a Russian gentleman. He owns 10,000 acres, which have descended to him from his ancestors. The remaining 90,000 acres are virtually the property of the serfs, and are worked by them in their hours of leisure. This privilege is the recompense they receive from the lord, whose title to the estate is acknowledged and whose rule is supreme.

In the centre of the territory is the communal village, containing houses enough for all the inhabitants; radiating around them in all directions are the farms and gardens. A complete system of communal laws, sacredly handed down from the Sclavian patriarchs, and very little varying from those of the Nomads of Novgorod, who practiced the communal principle in olden times, regulates the entire colony. These communal regulations have, however, for several centuries been subject to the more legalized supremacy of the State. There is in this village say 150 families slaves—for it is necessary to imagine this picture before the emancipation, in order to show the points on which the enfranchised people base their claims. The entire population of the village is generally about five times the number of the families, because Russian families are generally large. Now each family is entitled to a farm and garden, which is variable in size according to the increase or diminution of the members. There is a sort of Board of Management which is elected by the "Mir," *i. e.*, universal suffrage, and its government is called the *Ministère*. A President is also chosen by vote to rule over them, and it is thus that the commune itself makes the subdivisions of the lots of land. All troubles are settled by discussion and vote, or arbitration. The land, which is the source of production, and therefore the point of chief interest, is the property of the commune, not of the individual. Not an inch of it can belong to any man as individual and transmissible property. They all own it in common, and their chief happiness consists, as they contend, in this fact; because they are drawn thereby into a fraternal contact which the cold commercial world forbids. When marriages take place, by which a household is diminished, or in cases of death, the council after due time convenes and alters the proportions of that family's allotment; apportioning the area thus subtracted to some family which has increased in numbers. This curious arrangement frequently occasions removals, and gives rise to the suspicion that carelessness and dissatisfaction must follow as a consequence; but I am told that such little dispensations tend, on the contrary, to enliven society with a species of variety which animates rather than discourages.

The Russian commune, with its farms, its village, its school-houses, markets, and parks, seems like a minature nation governed by the republican system of submitting all matters of importance to the open vote of the people. The electoral prerogative is absolute, and its practice universal. Every member of the Society is a citizen, so to speak, of the State, with equal interests to develop and defend it; and I am assured these minature governments, of which there exist thousands in the great domain of the Russias, resemble much the similar system of the Republic of America.

Such is the plan and practice of life throughout this vast empire, which renders itself very dear to the hard-working classes by the double ties of antiquity and success. But who ever heard of down-trodden virtue, while parasitic authority played the role of historian? Peoples have no chroniclers, and they stand out in prominence only as the dogged abettors of individuals, representing, not freedom and virtue, but numbers and force. Such was the case with this naturally intelligent people, ever struggling for practical democracy, with domestic economy for their guide. Their condition has ever remained until a wise and just man pronounced the edict of their emancipation. This was the greatest event of Russian history, since it gave birth to the Russian labor question by enfranchising in some degree the people's opinion. Before, no one dared speak. Now, they whisper: and the breeze is fanning a vast but stifled intelligence into judgment and organization.

They are no longer nominal slaves, yet they are far from free. As in bondage they were inseparable from the chattels, of which they formed a part—chattels, to which they hold the most ancient claim, so in freedom they demand these chattels as their own. Their opening intelligence develops some ambitions, and is, it is said, rapidly cleansing them of the filth of subordinacy. They demand the right of embellishing their communes with better houses and better schools; and they have tastes which they wish to gratify in ornamenting their parks and market-places. But although the article of emancipation accords them their lands, yet there are innumerable vexatious points of law which curtail their rights. The lord yet lays claim to his coachman, and the community is yet compelled to work his estate. Such obligations prejudice freedom. In former times they had the *usufruct*, almost entire. This is now neutralized by taxes that absorb all their profits. Their development is watched with extreme jealousy, and every point of excess is seized with greediness by the authorities, and punished with the bitter extremities of the law. There is little chance among them for an advocate of their cause, and their question derives its chief defense from exiles in Switzerland and Belgium, as well as from its remarkable relationship with, and sympathy from, the great neighboring labor movements of the time.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

VIRGINIA IN THE SENATE.

THE struggle in the Senate over Virginia has been one of the severest contests which has taken place in that body for a long time. The opposition to Mr. Sumner, on the part of Senator Trumbull especially, has been such as formerly came from the champions of slavery, who, in this contest, found their advocate in the Illinois Senator. As hitherto, Mr. Sumner was victorious, most fortunately, too, for the Virginia loyalists, colored and white. From *The Globe* of the 13th and 16th, we extract as follows:

Mr. SUMNER.—Mr. President, has it come to this that the loyal people of Virginia cannot be heard on this floor; that a petition presented by a member of this body proceeding from them is to have first the denunciation of the Senator from Nevada on my right, [Mr. Nye], and then the denunciation of the Senator from Nevada on my left, [Mr. Stewart?] Why are the loyal people of Virginia to be thus exposed? What have they done?

Mr. STEWART.—Disorganized the State.

Mr. SUMNER.—To be sure the Senator from Nevada is now engaged in the endeavor to trample them down under the hoofs of the disloyal people of that State. Naturally engaged in that work, he turns against their petition, and the language that he employs strikes even at the right of petition itself. Sir, in what respect is that petition open to exception? The Senator says it is disrespectful. To whom? To this body? To the other Chamber? To the President of the United States? To any branch of this Government? Not in the least. It is disrespectful, according to the Senator from Nevada, to the present Governor of Virginia, and he undertakes to state his case.

Now, sir, I have nothing to say of the present Governor of Virginia. I am told that he is on this floor; but I have not the honor of his acquaintance, and I know very little about him. I make no allegation, no suggestion with regard to his former course. He may have been as sound always as the Senator from Nevada himself, but the petitioners from Virginia say the contrary. They are so circumstanced as to know more about him than the Senator from Nevada or than myself, and they are so circumstanced as to have a great stake in his future conduct. Thus circumstanced they send their respectful petition to this Chamber asking a hearing; and what is the answer? Denunciation from one Senator of Nevada echoed by denunciation from another Senator of Nevada. The voice of Nevada on this occasion is united, it is one, to denounce a loyal petition from Virginia. Was I not right in presenting the petition? Will the Senator from Nevada say the contrary?

Mr. STEWART rose.

Mr. SUMNER.—I will finish if the Senator pleases; I shall not be long.

Mr. STEWART.—I will reply to that.

Mr. SUMNER.—Very well. Was I not right in presenting it? Shall these people be unheard? The committee which the Senator represents, led by the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. TRUMBULL,] and now led by himself, are pressing this measure to a precipitate conclusion. These petitioners, having this great interest in the result, ask for a hearing. Several days ago I presumed, humbly, respectfully, deferentially, to ask that this measure should be postponed a few days in order to give an opportunity for such a hearing. I was refused. The Senator from Nevada would not consent, and by the assistance of Democrats he crowds this measure forward. Sir, it is natural, allow me to say, that one acting in this new conjunction should trifle with the right of petition. When one begins to act with such allies I can well imagine that he loses something of his original devotion to the great fundamental principles of our Government.

Something was said by my friend, the other Senator from Nevada, [Mr. NYE,] on another passage of the petition referring to a distinguished colleague of my own. Why, sir, that very passage furnishes testimony against the cause represented by the Senator from Nevada. It shows how little to be trusted are these men. It shows the game of treachery which they have undertaken. It shows how they are intending, with the assistance of my friend from Nevada, to press this measure through Congress so as to obtain for Virginia the independence of a State. Are you ready for that conclusion? Are you ready to part with this great control which yet remains to Congress through which security may be maintained for the rights of all?

Something has been said by different Senators of plighted faith. Sir, there is a faith that is plighted, and by that I will stand, God willing, to the end. Let the Senator from Nevada desert; let him, joining the Democrats, take the other course; but I stand firm by the plighted faith of this great Republic. It is nothing less than this: to secure the rights of all without distinction of color in the State of Virginia. When I can secure those rights, when I can see that they are firmly established beyond the reach of fraud, beyond the violence of opposition, then I am willing that that State shall again assume its independent position. But until then I say wait; I entreat the Senate to wait. In the name of justice, in the name of liberty, for the sake of human rights I entreat the Senate to wait.

Mr. SUMNER.—Mr. President, something has been said of the term by which this proposition should be designated. One will not call it "compact," finding in this term much danger, but at the same time the Senator refuses to the unhappy people in Virginia now looking to us for protection such safeguard as may be found in this proposition.

For myself, sir, I make no question of terms. Call it one thing or another it is the same, for it has in it protection. Call it a compact, I accept it. Call it a law, I accept it. Call it a condition, I accept it. It is all three—condition, law, compact, and as all three binding. The old law books speak of a triple cord. Here you have it.

My friend from Wisconsin [Mr. CARPENTER] falls into another mistake, he will pardon me if I suggest it, which I notice with regret. He exalts the technical State above the real State. He knows well what is the technical State, which is found in form, in technicality, in privilege, if you please, for he has made himself to-night the advocate of privilege. To my mind the State is the people, and its highest office is their just safeguard; and when it is declared that a State hereafter shall not take away the right of any of its people, here is no infringement of anything that belongs to a State. I entreat my friend to bear the distinction in mind. A State can have no right nor privilege to do wrong, nor can the denial of this pretension disparage the State, in any way impair its complete equality with other States. The States have no power except to do justice. Any power beyond this is contrary to the harmonies of the universe.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Will the Senator allow me to ask him one question?

Mr. SUMNER.—I would rather make one further observation and then I will yield. Since the Senator spoke I sent into the other room for the Declaration of Independence in order to read a sentence which is beyond question the touchstone of our institutions, to which all the powers of a State must be brought. Here it is:

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

And then it proceeds to say that—

"They have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

Here is the claim and its limitation; the great claim and its great limitation. The claim was independence; the limitation was justice.

"Which independent States may of right do!" Nothing else, nothing which a State may not of right do. Now, sir, bear in mind, do not forget that there is not one thing prohibited by these fundamental conditions that a State may of right do. Therefore, sir, in the name of right, do I insist that it is binding upon the State. It is binding, even if not there, and it is binding being there. Its insertion is like notice or proclamation of the perpetual obligation.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Now will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SUMNER.—Certainly.

Mr. CARPENTER.—In speaking of a State of this Union does not the Senator understand the term to apply to the corporation, so to speak, the government of the State.

Mr. SUMNER.—I do not.

Mr. CARPENTER—I ask the Senator, then, in what way the State of Virginia got out of the Union except by destroying the State government which was a member of the Union? Her territory was always in; her people were always subject to the laws of the United States.

Mr. SUMNER.—There I agree with the Senator. Her people were always in; her territory was always in.

Mr. CARPENTER.—But her government was not.

Mr. SUMNER.—Not out. Her government was destroyed.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Yes, and thereby she ceased to be a member of the Union.

Mr. SUMNER.—Rather than say that she had ceased to be a member of the Union I would say that her government was destroyed. She never was able to take one foot of her soil or one of her people beyond the jurisdiction of the nation. The people constitute the State in the just sense, and it has been always our duty to protect them, and this I now propose to do.

I return to the point that what is proposed to prohibit by these fundamental conditions no State can of right do. Therefore, to require that Virginia shall not do these things is no infringement of anything that belongs to a State, for a State can have no such privilege. My friend made himself, I said, the advocate of privilege. He complained that if we imposed these conditions we should impair the "privileges" of a State. No such thing. The State can have no such thing. The Senator would not curtail a State of its fair proportions. When will it be apparent that the license to do wrong is only a barbarism?

Then, again, the Senator says, if this is already forbidden why repeat the prohibition in the form of a new condition? Why, sir, my friend is too well read in the history of liberty and of its struggles to make that inquiry seriously. Does he not remember how in English history liberty has been won by just such repetitions? It began with Magna Charta, followed shortly afterward by a repetition; then again, in the time of Charles I. by another repetition, and then again at the revolution of 1688 by still another repetition. But did anybody at either of those great epochs say that the repetition was needless because all contained in Magna Charta? True, it was all there; but the repetition was needed in order to press it home upon the knowledge and the conscience of the people.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. SUMNER.—Certainly.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Is not the great distinction in this fact, that England has no written constitution; that the great charter is a mere act of Parliament which may be repealed to-morrow? With us we have a written Constitution; and when its terms and provisions are once clear do we not weaken, do we not show our lack of faith, that is our lack of confidence in the value of the provisions by reënacting it in the form of a statute?

Mr. SUMNER.—I must say I cannot follow my friend to that conclusion, nor do I see the difference he makes between Magna Charta in England and our Constitution. I believe they are very much alike, and I believe that the time is at hand when another document of our history will stand side by side with the Constitution and enjoy with it coequal authority, as it has more than the renown of the Constitution. I mean the Declaration of Independence. This is the first constitution of our history. It is our first Magna Charta. Nor can any State depart from it, nor can this nation depart from it. To all the promises and the pledges of that great declaration are we all pledged, whether as nation or as State. The nation when it bends before them exalts itself, and when it requires their performance of a State again exalts itself and exalts the State also.

So I see it. Full well, sir, I know that in other days when slavery prevailed in this Chamber there was a different rule of interpretation; but I had thought that our war had changed all that. Sir, to my mind the greatest victory in that terrible conflict was not at Appomattox. Oh, no, by no means; nor was it in the triumphal march of Sherman. Oh, no, by no means. This greatest victory was the establishment of a new rule of interpretation by which the institutions of our country are dedicated forevermore to human rights, and the Declaration of Independence is made a living letter instead of a promise. Clearly, unquestionably, beyond all doubt. That, sir, was the greatest victory of our war—greater than any found on any field of blood—as a victory of ideas is above any victory of the sword; as the establish-

ment of human rights is the end and consummation of government, without which government is hard to bear, if not a sham.

THE HAYTIEN MINISTER.

From the (Washington) New Era.

THE recent arrival in this country of Gen. Alexander Tait, the first colored representative of a foreign government accredited to the United States as full Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and his cordial official and personal reception by President Grant, are events of no small significance. The colored people of the United States are especially gratified with this eminent recognition of the equal status of their race in high official relations, and with the full measure of accord thus established between the United States and the Republic of Hayti. The Haytien nation is also fortunate in selecting as its representative a gentleman whose personal dignity, culture and character, no less than his warm and patriotic devotion to the interests and the independence of his country, gives to the American people so favorable an opinion of that nation.

The events which have recently occurred in Hayti, resulting in a change in the administration of the government of that Republic, have been watched with much interest by us, and we trust that with the establishment of peace and a State government, which we augur from those events, Hayti will take new steps forward in the development of its material resources, in the vindication of its commercial importance, and in the securement of the financial prosperity of the people.

MEETING OF THE CONGRESSIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY—FORMAL MANIFESTO—SPEECHES BY PROMINENT CONGRESSMEN.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16.—The Congressional Temperance Society held a meeting to-night at the Metropolitan Methodist Church. The house was densely crowded with ladies and gentlemen. After singing by the choir, and prayer by Rev. Dr. Newman, Senator Wilson, President of the Society, read the following recommendation of the Society:

"Believing that the habitual use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage causes poverty, suffering and crime; that there is safety alone in total abstinence, and that the personal pledge and co-operative effort tend to secure and maintain such abstinence, the Congressional Temperance Society suggest and recommend to the ministers and to the churches, to all temperance organizations, and the humane, philanthropic and patriotic throughout the land, to hold simultaneous meetings in their several towns, townships and city wards on the 22d of February next, the birthday of Washington, and unite in the organization of union temperance societies, based on the simple pledge, of total abstinence from all that intoxicates, and to adopt practicable measures to have such pledge presented to every man, woman and child over ten years of age. There are millions of members of Christian churches, millions of children in the Sabbath and public schools, and millions of others who, it is believed, might be persuaded to pledge their faith, truth and honor, wholly to abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks, and this Society believes if a concerted, vigorous and persistent effort were made, that one-fourth, if not one-third, of the nation would, within a few months, be thus pledged and enrolled."

Senators Pomeroy, of Kansas, Wilkey, of West Virginia, Patterson, of New Hampshire, and Buckingham, of Connecticut; and Representatives Whittemore, of South Carolina, and Ferry of Michigan, together with Vice-President Colfax, respectfully addressed the meeting. Senator Wilson said it was proposed to hold meetings every two weeks during the session of Congress, if churches could be procured for that purpose.

THE INDIANS—WHAT POLICY SHALL WE PURSUE?

From the N. Y. Times, January 19th.

THE question whether we shall extend to the Indians the sword or the olive branch is fast narrowing to a practical decision before Congress. To that body have just been presented two papers,—one a report of Gov. Harvey's Kansas Commissioners, the other the memorial of the Friends' Social Union, adopted at the Twenty-seventh street meeting, in this City; the former furnishing specific facts, the latter general principles. The Governor has been investigating claims for Indian depredations, and has, of course, visited the main scene of the outrages on Solomon and Saline Creeks—Ellsworth, Saline, Ottawa, Cloud and Mitchell Counties, in Kansas, the familiar stamping grounds of savage warfare. There, naturally, Gov. Harvey's Commissioners find good ground for damages in the stock stolen, the houses and ranches ruined, the frontier fields laid waste, the goods captured. They find that many settlers have left homes and claims, deserting fields which had been for years profitably cultivated. They report that the wanton cruelties of Indians who intrude upon the settlers under the cover of pretended friendship "call loudly for measures to prevent any and all Indian tribes from coming within the borders." They believe that now the settlers are not safe in going for a bucket of water without arms for self-defence. Such is the pith of their report.

But, on the other hand, all this means only that the policy of "reservations," which is the distinctive demand of every officer, without exception, who knows anything of Indian campaigning, must be enforced. That policy, which has been formally adopted by the Administration, and, to some extent, by Congress, is now partly established, and only needs time and patience for effective operation. Whether the 120 claims of Kansas settlers, ranging from $5 to $5,000 each, be passed or not, has little to do with our new policy. These outrages occurred during the year 1867 and 1868—none of them in 1869. That we admitted the extent of the Indian atrocities then, was made evident by the great mid-winter campaign of Sheridan, a twelvemonth since, and the penalties exacted of the Indians by the squadrons of Carr and Custer. The Saline River raid, in the spring of 1869, was the only important Indian demonstration in Kansas during the past year.

The Friends' memorial makes a strong plea in behalf of civilization and citizenship for the Indians. And—as if to illustrate that "extremes meet"—these advocates of peace declare their heartiest friends in this matter are the men of the sword—Gen. Grant, Gen. Cox, the Secretary of the Interior, and Gen. Parker, the Indian Commissioner. They hold that we must now do for the Indian what we have done for the negro, namely, abolish distinctions of race, color and condition. They demand that a civil territorial government shall be given to the Indians, and that the Sheriff's posse shall carry into effect the justice meted out by Courts. They declare that the dilemma is civilization or extermination, and that as between these there can be no doubt which policy we should pursue.

For ourselves, we hold firmly to the doctrine that for the present the reservation system is the key, and the only key, to the Indian problem. So long as the Indian, nomadic by nature, is free to wander far and wide over the continent, so long it is idle to talk of civil government. Civilized he certainly must be; we accept the alternative proposed by the Friends, and despite the very liberal excuse proffered by the London *Times* for extermination, we believe that citizenship will be the true solution of the problem. But first we must give the Indian a "local habitation." So long as he is plied with rum by traders, and wronged in his bargains by sutlers, and defrauded of his dues by selfish speculators, we cannot manage him. Bishop Clarkson, of Nebraska, tells us that now "it is a disreputable thing to cheat an Indian in Nebraska." If so, a revolution has already come about. He tells us the Indians now receive every dollar of money, every pound of subsistence, and every yard of goods they are entitled to—a thing "beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant." He rightly ascribes the credit to the Friends who have astounded "the sneak thieves that have fattened for years upon the meanest of all garbage, Indian stealing." But the Quaker agents are strongly in favor of the reservation system, because by that alone they can get at the Indians; and only in this way, too, can Indian traders be kept off, the red men governed, and the white men made secure. With the reservation, if a white murders an Indian or an Indian a white, he can be tracked and punished; but without it war is waged against a whole tribe, at vast expense, to avenge the iniquity of a single lawless man, whether white or red.

We need also to abolish the senseless policy of making "treaties" with the Indians. The very name involves a contradiction in ideas. Treaties are made with foreign States. Do we admit that the Indians constitute a foreign nation? This matter has been the vice of all our legislation. We should treat the Indians as "wards of the nation," not as strangers. Whether force shall or shall not be used depends on their own conduct.

ADMISSION OF VIRGINIA—POWERS OF CONGRESS.

Conclusion of a Speech by *Hon.* WILLIAM LAWRENCE, of Ohio, *delivered in the House of Representatives, January 13th*, 1870.

Mr. LAWRENCE.—If it could be possible that the people of this country should so far wander into by and forbidden paths as to abandon the great doctrines of the Republican party and hand this Government over to the power of the Democracy, I do not know that anything would be left for us except to say—"May God have mercy on their souls."

But the gentleman concedes that in the case I cited, we ought to reconstruct the State of Virginia. Then I say we ought to reconstruct the State of Virginia if she should violate the fundamental conditions which we ingraft in this bill. This bill will be just as much a part of the supreme law of the State of Virginia as is the constitution of the State of Virginia, and if she shall violate these fundamental conditions, we can for that reconstruct her, because she has violated the law which governs her, a law which to her is as high as the Constitution of the United States. That, I think, answers the gentleman.

Mr. LOGAN.—I would like to ask the gentleman another question right here.

Mr. LAWRENCE.—Very well.

Mr. LOGAN.—I would ask whether that prayer for the Lord to have mercy on our souls should become a part of this bill? If so, I will have no objection to it.

Mr. LAWRENCE.—Well, it ought to be. I would vote for it. [Laughter].

Mr. Speaker, if Virginia should subvert the fundamental conditions of this bill Congress will reconstruct her; "in the name of God and the Continental Congress" she would be speedily reconstructed.

But there are other remedies. The "fundamental condition" I am now considering is designed to secure forever the equal right of all citizens having the proper qualifications to vote and hold office beyond the reach of denial by the State, and only liable to be changed by Congress or an amendment of the national Constitution. This condition will become a part of the fundamental law of Virginia, as high and as sacred as her constitution. This is so, because it is a law unto Virginia enacted in pursuance of the power to guaranty a republican form of government. So ample is this power that Congress might frame a constitution and say to Virginia, "That is your constitution; you shall be and are restored under that." Congress, under the same power, can make perpetual all provisions necessary to secure republican government. Chief-Justice Chase said in one of the cases cited that all the citizens, including the freedmen, are now entitled to this guarantee. A State which was republican when slavery existed does not continue to be republican if it continues the exclusion from political rights of a majority of her adult citizens. Nothing short of this will protect the people of this country.

If the State should undertake to deny to citizens the right to vote secured by this fundamental condition, every citizen so denied would have his civil action for redress in court against every officer denying the right. That would be a penalty and a mode of enforcing it.

Every citizen denied the right to hold office in violation of this fundamental condition may nevertheless be a candidate, and, having secured a majority of the rightful votes, can test his right to office on *quo warranto*. That would be a penalty and a mode of enforcing it.

The "fundamental condition" fixes the rights of citizens, and the courts will furnish redress for their violation. If further legislation in aid of the remedy shall be necessary it can be had. The national courts are or may be clothed with the requisite power to enforce this fundamental law.

I do not say that this bill furnishes all the penalties, or the means of enforcing its "fundamental conditions" as fully as it should. If my voice could control it I would ingraft on this bill a provision declaring that if any officer of the State of Virginia should enforce any law of that State to deprive any citizen of the right to vote or hold office, in violation of this "fundamental condition," he should be deemed guilty of a crime and be punished therefor by indictment in the national courts, just as the "civil rights act" makes a somewhat similar provision. In other words, I would enforce this "fundamental provision" by penal enactments. In behalf of human rights I would leave undone nothing that could secure political equality and justice among men. And certainly, if necessary, Congress can hereafter enact such provisions. That would be a penalty and a mode of enforcing it. But without that, if Virginia should change her constitution so as to deny to citizens the rights secured by this "fundamental condition," her constitution in that respect would itself be unconstitutional or at least void, and the national courts would so declare it.

The constitution of a State may itself be unconstitutional or void, because in contravention of a provision of the national Constitution, or of an authorized act of Congress obligatory on the State.

In the Ohio bank tax cases a provision of the constitution of my own native State was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. Here, then, is another penalty Virginia would incur by violating this "fundamental condition," and a means of enforcing it.

Mr. Speaker, I will not longer trespass on the patience of the House. I give my sanction to this measure only because it is the best which seems attainable now. It seems to me we should provide more effectually for the enforcement of the national Constitution and that of Virginia. Greater protection and larger benefits should be secured to the loyal people of that ancient Commonwealth. A few, a very few, of the great conspirators who sought to take the nation's life should be punished or disfranchised forever; but as the best that can perhaps be done, I will give my vote for this bill under the inspiration of the poetic sentiment:

"Here, Lord, I give myself away
'Tis all that I can do."

POWER OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE STATES.—GEORGIA.

Extract of a Speech of HON. WILLIAM LOUGHRIDGE, OF IOWA *in the House of Representatives, December, 20th*, 1869.

RECONSTRUCTION OF GEORGIA.

* * * Admitting for the sake of the argument that the State had fully complied with the conditions of said act of 1868, and was thereby restored to her right of representation, there are still two reasons why Congress has the power legally to exercise this authority:

First, by section four of article four of the Constitution of the United States—

"The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion."

By this clause the people of each State are secured protection from the United States: first, against the invasion of their rights by the State government; and second, against foreign invasion. In either case it is equally the duty of the United States to interfere and protect the people.

To "guaranty," according to Webster, means "to make sure," "to warrant," "to secure the performance of." Now, that this does not apply merely to the original formation of the State government is apparent from the fact that it was made applicable to "every State in the Union." There were then thirteen States; they all had their State Governments, and yet this provision was made to apply to all; on the contrary this "guarantee" was to continue to all time, and to be exercised whenever the people of any State by any means are deprived of republican government. This power is given to the "United States," and the last clause of section eight, article one, provides that Congress shall have power—

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States."

So that Congress has the power to make any law necessary and proper to carry into execution the power given the "United States" of guarantying a republican form of government to Georgia, and it is of necessity for Congress to say what law is necessary and proper and when the occasion has arisen for the exercise of this power.

But there is still another portion of the Constitution which authorizes this action. The Fourteenth Amendment, being article fourteen of the Constitution, and to which Georgia gave her assent, provides that—

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," * * *
"nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It provides further that—

"No person shall hold any office under any State who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same or given aid and comfort to its enemies."

And the last section of said amendment provides that—

"The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

There is no doubt but that this legislation is necessary to enforce the provisions of both section one and section three of that article.

Gen. Terry, the officer in command of that military district, in a report dated August 14, 1869, says:

"I have delayed making the report thus called for until the present time in order that I might become acquainted with the condition of affairs in Georgia before expressing any opinion in regard to them. Now I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the situation here demands the interposition of the national Government, in order that life and property may be protected, freedom of speech and political action secured, and the rights and liberties of the freedmen maintained.

"This opinion is based upon complaints made to me, the reports of officers detailed to investigate alleged outrages, and upon the statements of many persons of respectibility and high position from different parts of the State, in whose representations I must repose confidence, some of whom have given me information only under the pledge of secrecy, the state of affairs in their section being such that they feared the extreme of personal violence should it become known that they had been in communication with me.

"In many parts of the State there is practically no government. The worst of crimes are committed, and no attempt is made to punish those who commit them. Murders have been and are frequent; the abuse in various ways of the blacks is too common to excite notice. There can be no doubt of the existence of numerous insurrectory organizations known as Kuklux Klans, who shielded by their disguise, by the secrecy of their movements, and by the terror which they inspire, perpetrate crimes with impunity. There is great reason to believe that in some cases local magistrates are in sympathy with the members of these organizations. In many places they are overawed by them and dare not attempt to punish them. To punish such offenders by civil proceedings would be a difficult task, even were magistrates in all cases disposed and had they the courage to do their duty, for the same influences which govern them equally affect juries and witnessess. A conversation which I have had with a wealthy planter, a gentleman of intelligence and education and a political opponent of the present national Administration, will illustrate this difficulty. While deploring the lamentable condition of affairs in the country in which he lives, he frankly admitted to me that were the most worthless vagabond in the country to be charged with a crime against the person of a Republican or a negro neither he nor any other person of property within the county would dare refuse to give bail for the offender, nor would they dare to testify against him, whatever might be their knowledge of his guilt.

"That very many of the crimes which have been committed have no political bearing I believe; that some of them were prompted by political animosity, and that most of numerous outrages upon freedmen result from hostility to the race, induced by their enfranchisement, I think cannot be controverted.

"The same difficulties which beset the prosecution of criminals are encountered by negroes who seek redress for civil injuries in the local courts. Magistrates dare not do their duty toward them, and instances are not wanting where it has even been beyond the power of a magistrate to protect a negro plaintiff from violence in his own presence, while engaged in the trial of his case. I desire it to be understood that in speaking of magistrates I in no degree refer to the judges of the superior courts; they are gentlemen of high character. I have every confidence that they will do their duty fearlessly and impartially, but it is to be observed that even they cannot control grand and petit juries; they cannot compel the former to indict nor the latter to render unprejudiced verdicts." * * *

"In conclusion, I desire to express my conviction that the only way to restore good order in the State is to resume military control over it for the time being, and ultimately to provide by law that the Legislature shall reassemble as a provisional Legislature, from which all ineligible persons shall be excluded, and to which all eligible persons elected to it, whether white or black, shall be admitted. Such a Legislature would, I believe, enact such laws and invest the Executive with such powers as would enable him to keep the peace, protect life and property and punish crime."

In connection with this report of Gen. Terry I ask the attention of the House to the following extracts from a report made to a convention of colored laboring men held a few weeks since in Georgia. This report was made by a committee who took testimony of colored persons residing in the different counties of Georgia, and shows the condition of the colored people in the counties:

"*Marion County.*—Colored people are not doing as well as they were in slavery; working for one-third of the crop generally, and are swindled out of that in a great many instances; the people are told by their employers, 'If you leave me you must leave all;' they are still whipping and lashing as usual; blacks do not receive justice; no schools; some are working for half, some third, and some quarter, but those who work for a quarter receive as much at the end of the year (when the settlement comes) as those who work for half of the crop.

"*Mitchell County.*—Some are getting along very well; whipping prevails to some extent; are not allowed to have ground to build a school-house or church; anticipate starvation unless something is done; no school; ten dollars per month, third of the crop and feed themselves; some are getting half; no murders this year.

"*Houston County.*—Peace prevails at present. Colored men do not receive justice before the civil courts. There are three schools, with ninety scholars. The average daily wages are seventy-five cents per day, or one-third of the crop and feed themselves.

"*Liberty County.*—No outrages; cannot receive justice before the civil courts; we have two colored magistrates, but they cannot live at their homes; four schools; three hundred scholars.

"*Newton County.*—Colored people are afraid to live at their homes; Ku-Klux outrages are very frequent; one man will make forty bales of cotton; he don't expect to get one dollar; the Ku-Klux have carried off a girl and beat her outrageously; she has not been seen or heard from since; no confidence in justice of the peace: will not order and make arrests in such cases; two schools.

"*Oglethorpe County.*—No schools here; very few churches; request aid; one-third of the crop and board ourselves; two murders; no arrests of parties.

"*Schley County.*—People not making much prosperity; one colored woman, who attempted to defend her child against brutal assaults, was beaten outrageously; it was said by the lawyer that it was necessary to beat a negro once and a while to make them know their places; no schools; school-house burned down because we held a political meeting in the house; average monthly wages eight dollars; we do not get much justice; out of twenty-four bags of cotton and five hundred bushels of corn I received fifty dollars and sixty bushels of corn; several men in jail; were promised their release if they would vote the Democratic ticket; one school; fifteen scholars; various other outrages in the county.

"*Butts County.*—Our county is politically quiet; there have been three murders; no arrests have been made; some, after laboring half the year, are turned off without receiving anything; cannot obtain justice before the county officers; two schools; seventy-two scholars.

"*Sumter County.*—Getting along very badly; none are getting justice before the civil courts; average wages eight dollars per month; three murders: six schools; three hundred and fifty scholars.

"*Burke County.*—A large number of colored laborers have not received one dollar since 1865; two schools; sixty-four scholars; one murder; sixty colored men imprisoned; five hundred white men sent from adjoining counties to guard the prisoners; have worked fourteen months and received $14.25.

"*Brooks County.*—One murder in our county; white man assaulted a black man and attempted to kill him; no justice to be had before the county officers; no schools.

"*Tatnall County.*—Do not know they are free; cannot hold any meetings; run several off on account of not working to suit them; no schools; murders are very common; cannot even speak in favor of schools.

"*Cass County.*—Requests that this convention come to their rescue; handcuffing the same as in slavery; white men say we have nothing to say in relation to the law; average daily labor twenty-five cents per day—women, feed and clothes; two schools.

"*Cobb County.*—If they bring a colored man before the courts, if he is a Democrat he is generally cleared: if a Radical he is found guilty; three schools; seventy-five scholars; bad contracts generally this year."

Reports were sent in from many more counties, and in nearly all of them it is alleged that they can get no redress or protection in the courts, and there is no doubt, from all the evidence and information, that the state of affairs is such in a great portion of Georgia that the colored man is oppressed and defrauded and "denied the equal protection of the laws."

Again, sir, in violation of the fourteenth article colored men duly and legally elected and occupying seats in the Legislature of Georgia as members were ejected from their seats and white men were admitted to seats who, by the terms of that article, are disqualified on account of their participation in the rebellion; and this illegal and revolutionary body is claiming to act as the Legislature of Georgia in violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It then devolves as a duty upon Congress to enforce the provisions of that article by appropriate legislation, and thus procure the expurgation from that Legislature of the illegal members and the return to their seats of the legal and qualified members who were ejected, and secure to the colored people and all the people of Georgia "the equal protection of the laws."

It is time, Mr. Speaker, that the people of Georgia, who so lately were in battle array against our flag and Government, should remember that by the dread arbitrament of a long and bloody war they and their allies were conquered and subdued by the Government of the United States; that by the rules of war and the laws of nations they must submit to the will of their conquerors, from which necessity there is no escape.

What is that will? Not that the property of the vanquished shall be confiscated and taken to pay the debt caused by their rebellion; not that their crimes shall be expiated by death or banishment, but simply that in Georgia all citizens, without regard to race or color shall be equal before the law and receive its equal protection. This is all they require. To this the good faith and the honor of this great Government is pledged, and no earthly power will prevent its consummation.

Sir, shall we hesitate to extend immediate and full protection to those poor and humble people of Georgia who were the friends of our flag and our Government during the dark days of the rebellion, the times that tried men's souls, when their pleading voices come up to us from their lowly homes telling us of the wrongs and the outrages to which they are subjected? Shall we be deaf and insensible and allow these outrages and crimes to continue? If so, then would the curse of the God of the lowly and the oppressed be visited upon us. Then, in truth would we prove false to the oft-expressed will of our constituents and do violence to the instincts of the brave and generous people whose Representatives we are. I trust, sir, that this bill will pass, and that it may be faithfully and speedily executed, and thereby justice secured to the colored citizens of Georgia.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1870.

THE NEGRO'S CLAIM.

THE whole Nation recognizes the fitness and necessity of securing land to the Negro. The ballot and his civil rights will be empty words unless his importance in the State and his independence can be secured by giving him a homestead to stand on. Indeed those rights will be worse than empty forms. They will be real evils, since a penniless and starving voter is only food and temptation for the Demagogue. The worst enemies of order are weak and helpless men whose necessities make them the tools of knaves.

To reach and cure this evil it is proposed that the Nation shall lend the negro money wherewith to begin his occupation of the coveted forty acres. Of what use to a penniless man are forty acres? How is he to avail himself of them? How shall he break up the soil, fence, build, or cultivate? Where is his mule to come from? How is he to feed his children and himself, while waiting for his first crop? It is manifest that he must be aided from some quarter before he can enter on his new possessions. Such a point needs no laboring. It needs only to be stated. Every man's experience immediately furnishes him the evidence of its truth. When GERRITT SMITH'S generosity made many hundred blacks landholders, it was seen that many had soon to part with their acres (often for a mere trifle), unable, from poverty, either to improve them or pay the taxes.

It will be granted therefore that the new landholder must be aided. He must borrow somewhere. The Southerner has no money to lend and would not lend it to a Negro if he had it. Even if he had the disposition to lend, such a man would be a dangerous creditor. No Southern hand should be allowed to hold such a bowstring round the new voter's neck. The Nation is the only safe creditor in such a case.

Up to the point that a man must have money before he can plant himself on new land, all men agree with us. When we assert that the Negro must, in present circumstances, borrow it somewhere, then the dissent begins. Here men differ. The GRADGRINDS, choked and blinded with the sawdust of political economy, stutter forth "Root, hog or die." They chuckle in reminding us of the undoubted truth that the powers of the race are best developed by leaving men to grapple with difficulties. No man disputes that. It takes but the feeblest intellect to discern self-evident general laws. Common sense and statesmanship are shown by instinctively and promptly discovering the necessary and proper *exceptions* to general laws. Any fool knows that, as a general rule, a man should eat when he is hungry. A wise physician alone can tell when the craving cannot be safely gratified. The most dangerous fools in the world are those who stand complacently bellowing forth general principles, too blind to see the exceptions. If such blindness occupies the place of a teacher, he and his pupil get speedly into the ditch.

No doubt the hog should be left to "root or die," when his not rooting is his own fault. The exceptions to this statement are very few. There are, indeed, some cases where even this disposition to laziness constitutes the very ground for aid: some cases where the welfare of the State demands that even the hog unwilling to root, should not be permitted to die. But the Negro's inability in this instance, his want of means, is not his fault, but ours. This adult man, a husband and father, we have robbed him of wages for forty years. The "root, hog or die" advice, to such a victim is the coolest impertinence; is the height of impudence. It is the language not only of a foolish but of a heartless man. Rob a New York editor of all he has in the world, even to his spectacles, strip him naked, turn him loose on the prairies and scream after him, "Root, hog or die." If he asks, "Is this justice?" say, "no, but it is political economy. Out there you will unfold the full powers of your manhood, which hitherto have been dwarfed,—cradled and cushioned as you have been in the softness of civilization. Besides I no longer claim the right to give you forty lashes a day on your bare backs. Hence you ought to be penetrated with gratitude instead of impudently asking your robber to share with you a small portion of his plunder."

The State which has allowed slavery and then suddenly unchained the victim, has no more right to shelter itself behind the "Root, Hog" rule, than a father has to look down into a six months cradle and act on that principle toward its tenant. The slave-trader, pursued by a British cruiser, flung his cargo of slaves into the mid-ocean. Suppose he turned to you and said, "you see I have freed these slaves. They cannot now complain of me. I have restored them to liberty. Let them now root or die, sink or swim. My responsibility is ended. If you doubt it, consult the last treatise on Political Economy."

The Nation is the slavetrader. At its wits' end, in a great war storm, it flung its slaves overboard to lighten the ship. The victim had previously been demoralized by the system under which he was held; doomed to ignorance by statute, laziness was made his best policy and highest self-interest; he was robbed, stripped, and peeled—none but a brute would disgrace himself and insult such a victim, by telling him to "root or die." What do we owe such a creditor? Could he sue us at the bar of God or of the race, what would be his claim? Simply that we should take off his chain? It is the saddest proof of the moral death of the American people that it plumes itself on the great virtue of barely *freeing* the slave. Where is his share of the education, comfort, capital and garnered resources which his toil helped to secure? Lend him money!

I am not sure that with all its apparent wealth, the nation has any thing it has a right to lend him. There might be a fair argument framed to show that *he really owns all* we unjustly *hold*. At any rate, on the lowest calculation, the Nation *owes* him one-seventh of all the wealth we hold. Freedom is only an instalment of the debt we owe the Negro. Every Negro family can justly claim forty acres of land, one year's support, a furnished cottage, a mule and farm tools, and free schools for life. This would cost about one thousand million of dollars. We, the six-sevenths of this nation, have robbed the other seventh for two hundred years and laid up our plunder in the shape of some twenty thousand million of dollars. Bastard Political Economy may come in, on morning cars, from a well-appointed farm to a nicely furnished office, and putting on its spectacles, complacently look out of its window at the Negro mass and say "Root, Hog or die."

But Humanity, Justice and sound Political Economy, say, "Knavish white man, aspiring to wash yourself clean and associate with honest folk, share your plunder before you try to inculcate the civil or Christian virtues on your late victims." A Captain who took away his crew's grog, without adding to their comforts or wages would not do much toward teaching temperance. The philosopher who prints a journal on stolen cotton for thirty years, then turns the slave adrift naked and penniless and standing on the pile of comfortable wealth he has filched, advises his victim to "root, or die,"—supposing himself, all the while to be teaching manliness,—should take passage on such a Captain's ship, if he can find any old salt so unjust.

But apart from this, the Nation cannot afford to be mean just now. We must assume the virtue of justice if we have it not. To let the Negroes degenerate into the tools or debtors of Southern rebels is suicide. They have votes. We have conceded that. It will be like handing the burglar chisels and revolvers, unless we secure to new voters independence. It will not do to let the Negro become *Burns'* "poor o'erlabored wight"—

"Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil."

In such an emergency as this the cobweb speculations of dreamy theorists must be brushed away by the strong common sense of the Congress. This admission of crude and rebel States is a double-edged weapon. We cut our own fingers unless we get a firm hold of the handle. Secure the Negro's free voting by enabling him to vote according to his conscience at a less price than absolute starvation. Secure the fair advantage of having him feel that it is *the Nation* which unchains both his limbs and his vote. *Deus nobis haec otia fecit*—A God has given us this ease and peace—was the more than adroit flattery that Virgil paid Augustus. It was the Emperor's real strength. Let the Negro feel to say, as he walks to the ballot-box, "This vote the Nation gave me: The Nation makes it safe for me to use it. I can throw what vote I please and yet, thanks to the Stars and Stripes, my land is my own. No mortgage endangers it. There will be a loaf on my table and fire on my hearth, no matter whom I offend. I have not got to ask any rebel for "leave to toil."

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

VIRGINIA—DECLINE OF THE TRIBUNE.

THE Virginia contest in Congress is at last ended. In the Senate it has been one of the severest which has occurred upon any measure in that body for a long time. Thanks, especially, to Mr. SUMNER, whose earnest purpose has contributed so largely to the auspicious result. Messrs. WILSON and DRAKE also deserve honorable mention. TRUMBULL in this contest, as in the Impeachment trial, proved recreant to the interests of the loyal people, and Mr. STEWART, of Nevada, has made for himself, as the pettifogger and apologist for the Virginia Rebels, an unenviable record. The House measurably redeemed its credit by retreating from the false position it assumed in voting for BINGHAM'S bill, and by adopting promptly the Senate's Amendments.

This indication on the part of Congress, at the present time, by its action with reference to Georgia and Tennessee, of a purpose to hold, (for which the Constitutional Amendments give it ample authority), a check-rein over the Rebel States, for the protection of their loyal people, will save much additional suffering, discourage the too long prevalent anarchy and misrule, and promote largely the general welfare. Its beneficent influence will be felt throughout the South.

It is not the fault of the *New York Tribune* that the rebels are not allowed to regain full possession of their former political estates, not only to rule and persecute without hindrance the landless and impoverished loyalists of the South, colored and white, but, uniting with their Northern allies of the Sham-Democracy, to again obtain control of the political affairs of the Nation. The *Tribune*, committed by the foolish action of its editor in relation to Jefferson Davis and amnesty, helped all it could to defeat the loyalists of both Virginia and Tennessee, and, unsuccessfully, to achieve the same untoward result in Texas, at the late elections in those States. During this contest in Congress it has again used all the power it could summon to defeat the Radical policy. One of the most noticeable results of the struggle is the manifest decline of the *Tribune's* influence.

The bill admitting Virginia, as amended by the Senate, and adopted by the House on Monday last, is as follows:

An act to admit the State of Virginia to representation in the Congress of the United States:

Whereas, The people of Virginia have framed and adopted a constitution of State government which is republican; and

Whereas, The Legislature of Virginia, elected under said constitution, have ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and

Whereas, The performance of these several acts, in good faith, was a condition precedent to the representation of the State in Congress; therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That the said State of Virginia be entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States, *provided* that before any member of the Legislature of said State shall take or resume his seat, or any officer of said State shall enter upon the duties of his office, he shall take and subscribe and file in the office of the Secretary of State of Virginia, for permanent preservation, an oath in the form following: "I —— do solemnly swear that I have never taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State to support the Constitution of the United States, and afterward engaged in insurrection or Rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. So help me God." Or such person shall in like manner take, subscribe and file the following oath: "I —— do solemnly swear that I have, by act of Congress of the United States, been relieved from the disabilities imposed upon me by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. So help my God," which oath shall be taken before and certified by any officer, lawfully authorized to administer oaths, and any person who shall knowingly swear falsely in taking either of such oaths shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and shall be punished therefor by imprisonment not less than one year, and not more than ten years, and shall be fined not less than $1,000, and not more than 10,000; and in all trials for any violation of this act, the certificate of the taking of either of said oaths, with proof of the signature of either party accused, shall be taken and held as conclusive evidence that such oath was lawfully and regularly administered by competent authority.

And provided further, That every such person who shall neglect for the period of 30 days next after the passage of this act to take, subscribe, and file such oath as aforesaid, shall be deemed and taken to all intents and purposes to have vacated his office.

And provided further, That the State of Virginia is admitted to representation in Congres upon the following fundamental conditions: That the Constitution of Virginia shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizens or class of citizens of the United States of the right to vote who are entitled to vote by the constitution herein recognized, except as a punishment for such crimes as are now felonies at common law, whereof they shall have been duly convicted under laws equally applicable to all the inhabitants of said State, *provided* that any alteration of said constitution, prospective in its effects may be made in regard to the time and place of residence of voters; that it shall never be lawful for the same State to deprive any citizen of the United States, on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude, of the right to hold office under the constitution and laws of said State, or upon any such ground to require of him any other qualification for office than such required of all other citizens; that the Constitution of Virginia shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the Constitution of the United States.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.—THE VICTORY ALMOST COMPLETE.

VICTORY for the Fifteenth Amendment is almost won. In the Ohio House the Senate's resolution ratifying the Amendment was adopted on the 20th inst., completing the ratification in that State and making the list of affirmative States, Twenty-six. On the same day the Iowa House also ratified the Amendment, the Senate having ratified it on the 19th inst; but the House instead of passing the Senate's concurrent resolution, adopted one of its own. There is, therefore, a hitch, a mere technicality, between the two branches of the Legislature which is suffered to delay the complete ratification in Iowa. The difficulty will doubtless soon be adjusted. In Georgia the organization of the Legislature is delayed by the necessary preliminary process of weeding out the rebels and fraudulent members. That will presently be completed, and we hope ere the present issue of THE STANDARD reaches its more distant readers, the great fundamental measure of political freedom will have been ratified by the full number of States required:

The revised record of State ratifications is as follows:

MISSOURI,	March 1st, 1869. [corrected]
KANSAS,	February 27th, "
NORTH CAROLINA,	March 5th,
WEST VIRGINIA,	" 3d,
MASSACHUSETTS,	" 9—12,
WISCONSIN,	" 9,
MAINE,	" 12,
LOUISIANA,	" 5,
MICHIGAN,	" 8,
SOUTH CAROLINA,	" 16,
PENNSYLVANIA,	" 26,
ARKANSAS,	" 30,
CONNECTICUT,	May 19,
FLORIDA,	June 15,
ILLINOIS,	March 5,
INDIANA,	May 13—14,
NEW YORK,	March 17—April 14,
NEW HAMPSHIRE,	July 7,
NEVADA,	March 1,
VERMONT,	October 21,
VIRGINIA,	" 8,
ALABAMA,	November 16,
MINNESOTA,	January 14, 1870,
MISSISSIPPI,	" 15,
RHODE ISLAND,	" 18,
OHIO	" 20,
IOWA (Incomplete)	" 20.

List of States which have rejected the Amendment:

DELAWARE,	March 18, 1869.
KENTUCKY,	" 13,
TENNESSEE.	

The States which have not yet voted are

CALIFORNIA,	NEBRASKA,
MARYLAND,	NEW JERSEY,
TEXAS,	OREGON,
GEORGIA.	

Ratifications, 27; whole number of States, 37. Number of States required, 28. Number necessary at the present date to complete the ratification, 1.

We print the exact words of the XVth Amendment.

ARTICLE XV.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE STANDARD.

WE find in the *Central Illinoian* the following very kind notice of THE STANDARD:

"THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.—This paper has battled long, fervently, and with unparalled ability for giving victory to a single idea—the liberation of the slave and his enfranchisement. It had its origin under difficulties, and its supporters—when first it was given to the public—could have almost been counted on the fingers of our two hands. To write the history of this paper would be to almost write the history of the anti-slavery movement in this country. The ability with which this paper has been conducted, and, at a time when it had to be supported from the purses of a few of the friends of this great reformation, scarcely has a parallel in the history of journalism. It was supported and maintained by warm hearts and wise heads—by men and women who knew no such thing as danger or defeat, when espoused to a great idea—a living truth. There is no paper in the whole country around which clusters as much moral heroism as this same journal. It has always been in the lead on all advanced questions, and now that enfranchisement of the negro is secured, it proposes to make its columns champion the cause of woman. It is generally known that Wendell Phillips is the special editorial contributor of THE STANDARD. His articles alone are many times worth the subscription price of the paper—$3. Its miscellany, for family reading, is of the choicest nature, and it is worthy of a place in every household of the land. Aaron M. Powell is the editor, and should be addressed at New York."

THE *Hudson* (Mass.) *Pioneer* says:

"THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD is one of the choicest names in the list of our exchanges. As an organ of reformatory ideas, it fills a place which no other journal pretends to fill, and thus becomes welcome to a growing class of minds, and commends itself to the perusal of all those who are interested in the cause and agencies of human progress. It is printed in the most readable style, and published once a week at $3 a year. Address the editor, A. M. Powell, 39 Nassau Street, New York."

Jacob Powell, of Sterling, in sending a remittance to THE STANDARD writes:

"May THE STANDARD last so long as the race; combating every species of oppression, ever changing to be the special champion of the most deeply oppressed and degraded, as slave, woman, labor,—elevating every member of the human family politically and socially to that equality pointed out by the God of nature. Thine for the good of all, JACOB POWELL.

Sarah Clay, of Lowell, Mass., remitting to THE STANDARD for herself and a friend for the ensuing year, thus writes of its future:

"I am thankful that so many influential friends are urging its continuance, and delighted at the prospect of its indefinite publication. Not only are there important moral questions yet undecided, which *need* its counsel and advice; but probably some, "yet below the horizon," which will demand its attention, and tax its energies."

MISSISSIPPI has not only ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, but has also chosen a colored man for United States Senator to fill the seat vacated by Jefferson Davis! His term is a short one, and will expire in 1871. But a most valuable precedent has been gained. Every such added recognition of the rights and the capacity of colored citizens helps largely to modify and break the force of the unjust and cruel Caste spirit. In a notice of the election of the colored United States Senator, Mr. REVELS, *The Tribune* says:

"The revenges of history are singularly illustrated in the Senatorial election in Mississippi. One of the Senators elect, Mr. H. R. Revels, is a negro, a native of Ohio, a graduate of Oberlin College, and for some years a resident in Natchez, where also a former Senator of Mississippi, Mr. Jefferson Davis, has sometimes resided."

A Woman Suffrage Convention for the State of Massachusetts will be held in Horticultural Hall, Boston, on Friday, the 28th inst. The Call is signed by a large number of well-known, influential citizens, and the Convention promises to be one of much interest. We shall look for more favorable action this winter in the Massachusetts Legislature than a year ago, in behalf of Woman Suffrage. The movement has developed in strength rapidly throughout the State during the year.

THE colored citizens of this city are making arrangements to hold a grand celebration on the complete ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, which provides that —"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of Race, Color or previous condition of servitude."

WE are indebted to VICE-PRESIDENT COLFAX for a bound volume, eighty-four pages, of the *Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of Thaddeus Stevens*, delivered in the House of Representatives.

PERSONAL.

THE women of Detroit have petitioned the City Council for the appointment of Dr. Lucy M. Arnold as City Physician.

The second of the Sunday afternoon lectures in Horticultural Hall, Boston, will be given by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, of this city, on the 30th inst.

Wendell Phillips will give the opening lecture of Mr. T. B. Pugh's second "star course" in Philadelphia, on Monday evening next, the 31st. Subject: "The Questions of To-morrow." He will be followed by D. R. Locke, Esq., (the Rev. Petroleum V. Nasby), Ralph Waldo Emerson, Anna Dickinson and others.

A Louisville telegram, dated January 22d, says: "George D. Prentice, of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, died this morning at nine o'clock." Mr. Prentice was at one time, in his early and better days, associated with John G. Whittier in editing the *New England Review*, published at Hartford, Conn.

Master Edward Matthews, the negro boy just elected as page by the Kansas Legislature, is described as a bright, intelligent, and educated lad, thirteen years of age. Edward was honored by being selected by the Governor to carry his message to the House.

A letter from Alex. H. Stephens, of Georgia, to a friend, dated 17th inst., says:—"I am now a little better than I have been—am able to sit up, read and write a little; but I cannot walk or even stand without assistance." He also writes very hopefully about his future, and peace in the next world, but is gloomy and despondent about the country.

Our Boston Correspondence.

NO. CCLXI.

BOSTON, January 23d, 1870.

OUR State Constables made a raid, one evening of last week, upon four of the chief gambling resorts of the city, and captured eighty-seven persons, the players or spectators of unlawful games, who spent a night in custody, and were disposed of at the Municipal Court the next morning.

Semi-occasional movements of this sort have always been made by our guardians of the law, but have never interfered with the regular continuance of the offence in question. Just now, public attention has been called to one evil incidental to the habit of gambling, by the discovery of serious depredations upon the city treasury by a trusted official in the City Hall, who stole expressly that he might indulge himself with the excitements of the gaming-table. Thereupon, the *Advertiser*, in a leading article, urged upon the attention of the public the fact that the authorities themselves are to blame for the continuance of this nuisance, and that it is in their power at any time virtually to suppress it. The most alluring and most dangerous gambling games require a fixed locality and expensive apparatus. These resorts and their proprietors are well-known to the police; and if there were a disposition at headquarters to stop their operations it could be done in any one or two weeks; at the very least, they could be so harassed and annoyed by the efforts of officers of the law as to make their business unprofitable, and force them to suppress themselves, or else retire to an obscurity which removes most of their power for harm.

In a conversation about this matter a little before the capture above referred to, it had been asked why the known gambling houses were not supressed. It was answered that one difficulty in the way was that our *judges* here did not seem disposed to do their part in the work, but imposed upon the keepers of gambling-saloons, when they were convicted, the minimum instead of the maximum of the penalties prescribed by the law; trifling fines, which were immediately paid, and the loss of which, once or twice a year, was among the least of the inconveniences of the business; a business immediately resumed, and thenceforward carried on as before.

It was interesting, therefore, to notice, the next day, the attitude of official justice towards eighty-seven offenders of this class. Would it discriminate between the hawks and the pigeons? Would it apportion penalties according to degrees of guilt? Above all, would it so deal with the proprietors of these pernicious dens, the people who make their living; by enticing young people into one of the most destructive vices—as to discourage their prosecution of the business?

The proceedings of the Municipal Court (Judge Hurd) in this case agreed exactly with what my friend had affirmed to be the *custom* of our courts for many years past. Those who had violated the law merely by their presence at an illegal game were fined $20 each, without costs; those who had taken part in the illegal game were fined $25 each, also without costs, and without the attempt to distinguish which were professional gamblers; no attempt at all was made to identify the proprietors of these dens of iniquity, for the purpose of imposing special penalties upon them; and no one of the eighty-seven was condemned to imprisonment, though the statutes specify fine *and* imprisonment as the penalty for keeping either gambling implements or gambling places.

For an offence so serious and so utterly unjustifiable as that of keeping a gambling house, and alluring young men to enter upon the ruinous course necessarily implied in frequenting it, it would seem that the highest legal penalty, a fine of $100, *and* imprisonment six months in the county jail, was quite small enough. Why was nothing of this sort inflicted, when at least four such persons were probably among the prisoners, and when the police who captured them probably knew at least a dozen more as gamblers by profession, living on the manufacture of crime and corruption in the community. With whom lies the fault of this negligence? With the Judge, or with the prosecuting officer? It would seem as if some comments of the press were needed here; but most of our daily papers contented themselves with rejoicing over the sum total of the pitiful fines imposed, and imposed "without costs!" Who is to pay the costs?

The Horticultural Hall series of Sunday afternoon lectures began to-day with a discourse on the "False and True Sentiment for Nature," by Rev. John Weiss.

The Greeks and Romans, he said, had no feeling for nature beyond her obvious external appearances, the clear sky, the green meadows, the cooling shade. The modern imagination impersonates nature, imputing to her its own human emotions and imaginings. Side by side with this modern manner of vitalizing nature there has grown up a pretence of adoring her, a falling into furies of sentiment about the features she presents to us. It is an error to suppose that any refinement results from indulgence in this feeling, or that this sort of admiration in an exercise of religion. It is sentimental to declare that the mountain lifts our minds to heaven. It is our minds that lift the mountain there. A conventional regard for nature is the absurdity of civilized man. It is the mind of one spiritually undeveloped and greedy for astonishment that is imposed upon by mountainous masses, and couples the name of God with them as if his greatness were of that sort. To be so absorbed in the contemplation of material greatness, bulk and space, as to cry out in comparison, "What is man!" is stupefaction rather than intelligence. The admiration of space and size is not a religious feeling. The greatness of God is real, not comparative greatness; and it is best made known to us when we understand him as dealing with his creature, man, preconceiving our hearts and imaginations, moving our thoughts, calculating the eclipses of our motives. The invisible is then contemplating the invisible. The Hebrew Psalmist reached the apprehension of this higher view when he said, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?"

The central religious idea is the idea of God as the Father of our spirits. Persistent conflict with the temptations that beset us in the performance of our duty to Him makes the human soul more beautiful than the starry night, or the majestic sea. And when we apprehend the unity of his works in nature, and find his law regulating alike the atom and the world, and binding together the most distant and seemingly contradictory portions of the creation, we advance to the religious side of this idea of unity, and learn the true lesson taught us by the universe. All its magnitude and distances, instinct with a divine life teach our desires to resume their modest place in the great plan; for we are made to feel what myriads of interests people this expanse: and a fellow-feeling for the countless souls excites in us disinterestedness. We love the idea that we can coöperate with them to advance the moral order, and that one day we shall see them face to face to mingle our unselfish joy. All this spectacle of immutable law, this symmetry, this unerring ratio of numbers, this mutual swaying and leading of every member of the great mass in obedience to natural conditions, fills us with a desire to introduce order into our houses; into the departments of our influence, and to possess centres kindred to those of the universe itself, around which everything that we create may revolve in health and peace. Every expression of moral life made from a pure desire of being at one with God and with the work of His hand, and thrown, without a thought of self, into the great current of being, floats down into the hollow of His hand; there it lies indestructible; something positive and truly personal, something that feeds the general harmony because it was done without a hope of comfort, without the desire for fame, with a willingness to be despised and rejected, buried like our dust, forgotten like the illegible lines on our headstones. It is something done in obedience to law, and whatever is so performed, will live while law penetrates and sustains creation.

The hall was filled with an attentive and deeply interested audience, and the list of speakers announced is such as to insure distinguished success to the course. Mr. Frothingham of your city is to give the next lecture.

The ordinary routine of pulpit preaching supplies so little answer to the demand now made in various quarters for some *reasonable* account of what it assumes and what it demands, that an attempt is now to be made here to reinforce it by an array of eminent clerical gentlemen from the chief New England colleges. Ten lectures," by prominent Christian scholars, on important religious and philosophical questions of the day," are to be delivered, first on Sunday evening in one part of the city, and then on Monday afternoon in another part, thus giving opportunity for different sets and classes of people to hear them. These gentlemen, who are Presidents or Professors in the collegiate or theological institutions at Brunswick and Bangor in Maine, Cambridge, And over and Amherst in Massachusetts, New Haven in Connecticut and Providence in Rhode Island, are of such standing and reputation as to insure them full and attentive audiences. Whether they will appeal more to reason or authority in the presentation of their own religious faith, and whether they will deal justly with the ideas of opponents, is what we have yet to see. In the mean time, all will rejoice that the class of subjects here contemplated is to be publicly treated, and a defence of the popular doctrine to be made, by the very ablest men of that side. It is noticeable that this list of "Christian scholars," consisting mainly of the most prominent defenders of Orthodoxy, contains one distinguished person who is classed by others and classes himself as Unitarian. The concession made by this alliance is significant, showing the belief of the founders of the course in a present exigency requiring strong measures.

24th.—The first discourse of this series was given last evening by Rev. Samuel Harris, D. D., President of Bowdoin College, on "The Christian idea of Progress, in contrast with the Naturalistic."

Dr. Harris began by speaking of the confidence of all classes in a better future approaching; the assumption of human progress as an established principle. The progress thus far realized has not been of the material sort only; the great questions which of late have agitated society have been moral questions; the removal of slavery, the elevation of labor, the improvement of man. Not only religion, but science, art, philosphy and poetry promise us a better future. In regard to the method by which this progress would be made, there were two distinct theories, which might be called the Naturalistic and the Christain.

The Naturalistic theory, Dr. Harris said, assumed man to be a natural force which, of necessity, developed itself in the manner actually realized. It knew no such thing as sin, but viewed the acts so called simply as necessities of human experience. The improvement of man, therefore, which this theory contemplated, must be merely a multiplication of comforts for this mortal life.

The Christian theory, on the other hand, assumed that man can control his instincts by the exercise of his will; that his attributes of free will and reason prove him subject to law, and guilty for the violation of it; that God, seeing men to be sinners, offers them salvation through Jesus Christ; and that the human being is compassed by spiritual not less than by material influences.

The point Dr. Harris wished to make was, that the expected renovation of society must have its origin in Christianity. In support of this he referred to the historical fact that the expectation of progress by the establishment of justice and love over all the earth has travelled in the train of the New Testament, and has not been known elsewhere.

Naturalism, he said, *must* start from the idea of power or force; and how, from that, can you get a reign of justice?

Thereupon, Dr. Harris proceeded to quote certain obviously indefensible ideas from the writings of Comte, Buckle, Herbert Spencer, and Huxley, and proceeded to show that they were indefensible, expending a good deal of eloquent indignation in the process. If there are in our city any advocates of these notions, it is to be hoped they will attend the repetition of the same discourse, which is to be given this afternoon in the Old South Chapel.

With the above basis for his lecture, Dr. Harris proceeded to numerous details, in which some curious assumptions were noticeable.

It was quietly taken for granted throughout the discourse, that the essence of Christianity was, not the two prime elements *taught by Jesus*, (called Christ), *as constituting religion*, namely, love to God supremely, and to the neighbor as to one's self—but the theory concerning the person and office of Jesus held by Dr. Harris's sect, the sacrificial theory, the dogma that God's good will for offending children is purchased only by the shedding of blood. It is this theory which he calls "Christianity," and to which he attributes all the beneficial progress made by the human race since that theory was broached. Most of the people who deem this theory unproved and untenable hold to the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, to the reality of communion with God, to the preponderance of spiritual over material interests, and to the claims of justice, duty and and disinterested love upon the human being, as truly as Dr. Harris does. But the purpose of the present lecture seems to induce him to ignore these obvious facts. The great majority of these people also would attribute the beneficent progress of the last century to Christianity; but, as they hold the love of God for his children to be independent of the shedding of blood, Dr. Harris coolly lumps them together as materialists, and insists that they start from the idea of force, and seek only an increase of earthly comforts and conveniences.

Another cool assumption of Dr. Harris was that the specimens of beneficent progress wrought by Christianity were wrought by the deliberate purpose and effort of the people for whom he wishes to monopolize the name of Christians, the members of that group of churches in which he is a minister. So he says, "*our* efforts have destroyed slavery and caste"!!!

Dr. Harris appeals to history, and cites the first chapters of Genesis as the best specimen of authentic history. Of the value of his expression of opinion in this matter, we may form some judgment by the manner of his dealing with the chapter of history which has been growing under our eyes within the last half-century. Slavery, in 1830, was flourishing and triumphant, not only with the consent, but with the active coöperation of that church of whose justice and righteousness Dr. Harris thus impudently boasts. When Garrison rose up to oppose slavery, these churches and their clergy turned against *him*. Dr. Lyman Beecher, when asked to speak against this immense system of oppression, refused. Moses Stuart volunteered a pamphlet in defence of slavery. Nineteen orthodox churches in every twenty, sided with the slaveholders against the abolitionists. And for nearly a score of years after that contest began, the church members who were converted to abolitionism were converted by influences outside the church, not inside.

As to the power of caste, it is not yet broken; and it is not the churches, nor the clergy, who are *trying* most to break it. NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 25th, 1870.

THERE is no need of recounting the steps by which the Virginia bill got into its present shape. It is sufficient to know that the bungling method in which the whole affair has been managed, has not quite stripped the act of admission of all safeguards. The length and warmth of the bitter discussion just closed, had its value in at least partially unveiling the spirit which animated such men as Trumbull in the Senate and Farnsworth in the House. Every conservative wrangler declared that the conditions precedent that have now been established, were of no legal force or binding effect. Even Gen. Butler joined in this interpretation. But why was it, such being the case, that they were resisted with such virulent vehemence? That's the question that naturally arises. So evident was it that the question assumed such shape as to threaten even the harmony of the Republican party, that unless there was some ulterior motive, men like Trumbull, Farnsworth and their ilk, would not have risked that contingency on the adoption of provisos they deemed as worth only the paper on which they are written.

In truth, as I regard it, the attempt to admit Virginia without conditions was a renewal of the attempt several times made since this reconstruction struggle begun to obtain a conservative domination over the Republican party. As before it has failed. So it will again, should the attempt be renewed. My impression is however that it will next time result in secession. The whole gist of the recent effort, consciously or otherwise, was to feel the way to a renewal of that control the Radicals have partially wrung from the obstructionists. So far as Gen. Butler is concerned there is so much of fight in his composition as almost to exclude any sympathy even when grossly assailed. It is I think conceded that in yesterday's display of legislative billingsgate, Butler got quite as much or more than he bargained for. He had Farnsworth foul on the act, however mistaken he may have been on the details of the proceedings had while he, Butler, was absent. Farnsworth was guilty of a piece of contemptible parliamentary treachery, in being directed to report a bill, and then using the vantage ground thus obtained as a means of defeating the measure.

But the debate in the Senate was worse in tone, character and results than anything else that occured during the whole affair. It would seem as if, assuming the truth of the Pythagorean theory of transmigration of souls to be true, that that of Stephen A. Douglass in one of its most reckless moods had entered and took possession of the dyspeptic body of his colleague, Trumbull, and indulged itself in the congenial pastime of venomously abusing Charles Sumner. Mr. Trumbull can hardly have realized the vile vindictiveness of his speech, or the peculiarly malignance apparent in his manner. I know that Mr. Sumner's manner, far more than his matter, is sometimes exasperating. But Mr. Trumbull contrived to throw into his speech a savage bitterness that made both his matter and manner lurid with baleful light. It was not only a deliberate effort to break a man down, but it was the gathering fury of a last and vigorous effort to regain a "lost leadership."

Looking at him from the gallery, as he poured forth his passionate words, it forcibly recalled to me a terrible sarcasm hurled by Theodore Parker at the Boston Hunkers,—Curtis, & Co. Meeting, a friend, I think it was Dr. Howe, one morning after these people had, at some meeting a day or two before, poured out their vituperations on him, Mr. Parker said in reply to some remark,—"These people remind me of nothing so much as of that passage of Scripture which saith 'The Eunuch lusteth after a virgin.' These people lust after power and vengeance and are impotent to reach either." The satire was worthy of Juvenal, or of the man who uttered it. Trumbull's case is fitted by it exactly.

The Republican party has been severely tested by this Virginia quarrel. Its harmony and solidarity is greatly shattered, and had it not terminated as it did, it might have produced early disintegration. It has been the bitterest strife of the whole campaign, and both wings came nearly being demoralized. The Democrats got a glimpse of this and wisely waited. They almost won. The effects will not soon, if ever, be obliterated.

ASMODEUS.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, January 25th, 1870.

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred here on Saturday which deserves notice simply on account of the opportunity it gives for comment upon our newspapers, or at least one among them which frequently takes especial pride in making assumptions that border closely upon a mawkish self-adulation.

A number of women from Florence, New Jersey, students of an institution located there, came to this city for the purpose of attending a clinic lecture at one of our Medical colleges. Their stylo of dress was not in conformity with the popular costume, and this fact subjected them to manifold annoyances. Wherever they went crowds were extemporized, ill-mannered comments abounded, insults filled the air, and they became the victims of unjust stricture and impertinent curiosity. You remember what a violent storm of indignation recently prevailed, not confined to this city, arising from the discreditable conduct of the medical students, and occasioning reiterated condemnation on the part of the newspapers, which could hardly still their wrath. How was it with our papers in regard to this second instance of rudeness and insult? Did they condemn? Did they overflow with just remonstrance, and sharply chide the insolent mob—the mob in cloth and velvet? Did the *Press* grow eloquent with reproof and admonition in a second "Moral Carditis?" Editorially it was silent. In its local columns the incident was noticed with a characteristic caption, and in the account the following sentence occurs: "On Chestnut-street a crowd of about two hundred people followed the 'Bloomers,' indulging in all sorts of remarks concerning them." Yet the *Press* does not cry, shame. It was palpably disgraceful and revolting, this boorish and atrocious conduct, yet the *Press* does not utter a single word of manly rebuke or independent scorn. Is this paper a journalistic weathercock, trending passively according to the breath of popular opinion? "A reporter of the *Press*," says the item quoted from, "accosted one of the ladies and inquired who they were and their object. He was very politely informed that they were medical students from a college at Florence Heights, N. J., and that they had come to the city for the purpose of attending a clinic." They were very polite, no doubt, but their experience here was such as to justify the belief that all politeness had been banished from our midst, and supplanted by rudeness, insult and impertinence.

The Post was not silent. In its editorial columns the proper word was spoken, and some of its contemporaries fitly rebuked for their "unjust and unkind criticism." The *Post* says:

"Because these ladies, in the pursuit of a particular study, have adopted that style of dress deemed most convenient and appropriate, is no reason why they should be made the target for public abuse when appearing on the streets in their distinctive and peculiar garb."

And again: "The conduct of certain newspapers of this city in relation to the female students who visited us on Saturday in the pursuit of their studies, is little better than the conduct of the males who assailed the female students at the Pennsylvania Hospital a few months since."

How manifest is the difference in the moral sense of newspapers! W.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

GEORGE W. SMALLEY, ESQ., in a London letter to the *Tribune* says:

"There is, I hear, a possibility that woman suffrage will be carried this very next session of Parliament, incredible as such a thing may appear at first sight. It can only be done, of course, by a party movement, and equally of course, it is the Tories who contemplate adopting it as a party measure. Mr. Disraeli's education process may be tried once more, though he will scarcely venture to insist that the extension of the suffrage to women is merely carrying out the traditions and creed of the only constitutional party. It is to be put upon the more intelligible and interesting ground that it will pay. One of the most cautious advocates of the measure in Parliament regards such a step as not only possible but probable. If taken, the bill will be likely to pass almost unanimously, since the majority of Liberals are quite alive to the danger of being outbidden by their old enemies in such a matter, and they certainly will not vote against it as a party. On the merits of the question they would divide. Sir John Coleridge, for instance, is a warm advocate of woman suffrage, and Mr. Bright is equally strong against it. It is pretty generally felt that since the concession of the municipal suffrage to women, no very logical reason can be adduced for refusing them the Parliamentary. The suffrage resting here on a property qualification—for householder and lodger suffrage amounts to that—the arguments that can be used against it in America are not applicable here, and there seems no middle course between admitting women to the franchise or its existing basis, or substituting Manhood in the place of Household Suffrage. Whether the workingmen would come into a scheme for Universal Suffrage instead of Manhood Suffrage is very doubtful. However that may be, the leading advocates of the woman's movement are extremely hopeful of a nearer success than would have been thought possible six months ago by the most confident of them. You may rely on their judgment with more security than on that of some of the leaders of the same movement in America. And it can do no harm to repeat that the really able, clear-headed, and moderate men and women who control the movement here have no desire to be identified with a movement of such scope as is attempted in America."

THE PIONEERS OF NEVADA, MEN AND WOMEN.

MRS. LUCIA GILBERT CALHOUN (Mrs. Runkle), in a *Tribune* letter writes:

The men, and I speak now of the "best society," are they who have known all the hardships and excitements of frontier life in a mining town, who have gone hungry and slept hard, who were worth a fortune last week and not a penny yesterday, and have the fortune again to-day,—men who speculate with a rashness that is frightful, and "run their luck" with a success not less amazing. They are men whose generosity is lavishness, whose kindness is prodigality, men to whom money, so easily lost and won, represents no fixed value, and whose ready helpfulness is half the time sheer carelessness. They are men developed by their climate and their habits of life into an intense physical existence, and to whom the excitements of the senses are supreme. For many years they lived without the society of women and lived, therefore, a coarse and thin life. Their isolation has made them think tenderly, even sentimentally, of the old home at the East, and they welcome a bare acquaintance as if he were their long-lost brother. This angular and material life of fluctuations and successes has brought out a certain robust manliness which is wonderfully attractive. They are all courage, cheerfulness, eagerness, purpose, heartiness, cordiality, open-handedness. They have all a breath of the free air of their mountains about them. They like material things with a zest which is amusing, being grown up children in a fondness for dinners, new clothes, trinkets, and constant amusement. Of a finer life they know very little, nor have they much time to learn when the whole day goes to the mines or the office, half the night to billiards or coarser pleasures and but an hour or two of waking time to home.

This life is greatly harder on the women than on the men, and they have suffered more from it. They dress more expensively and richly than their eastern sisters of equal affluence, they have many and splendid jewels, and they know and keep up to the latest fashions, and both child-husband and child-wife enjoy the display. But then there is really nobody to dress for. Every woman knows the entire resources of every other woman's wardrobe, and except for the frequent visits to the Bay or the arrival of strangers, I dare say they would all subside into solemn black, and save themselves trouble. I have said that in material good they have compassed great successes. I never saw in the East such superfluous elaborateness of dinners and breakfasts, nor such useless profusion of silver and glass. The emphasis of their hospitality lies in these things, because the women have not gotten beyond them. Because the women are apparently on just the same plane as the men, they are really lower: and, loving and faithful as Americans almost always are, they fail of being wise wives and mothers and sweethearts, in just as far as they fail of being wise women. A very thoughtful and quiet man said to me: "I am glad this question of woman suffrage is coming up to us here. Whatever good or ill lurks in it, the very suggestion of it must make our women think, and the necessity of a decision will do them good. We have been too busy to see that we were teaching them to be dolls—very dear and fond dolls, of course—and now, when we have more leisure, and should like companions, behold, what we have molded that we have." Everybody who goes thither from the East makes little speeches to them about their wonderful pluck and prosperity, their grandeur and freedom, their achievements and triumphs, and general excellence. Every word of praise that has been uttered I echo. Dauntlessness, if it has only heaped up riches, is a splendid quality, but it is such a little part of manhood. It is only the base on which manhood is built.

LITERARY.

BENNETT'S WINTER AND SPRING ON THE SHORES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. 1870.

We present the following extracts from the above interesting book:

"The *vendetta* is a system of vengeance to the death, which has existed for hundreds of years in Corsica, and which was, until recently, recognized and approved by nearly the entire community, including even the less enlightened ministers of religion. Its origin is obscure, but may probably be traced to the constant funds and warfare that have existed in the island, dividing the members of families and communities, ever arming one against the other, and to the weakness of authority.

"All Corsicans carried fire-arms. If one man considered himself insulted by another in any way, however trivial the grounds, he shot him. From that moment the family of the man killed was bound in honor to pursue the murderer, or in his default, some member of his family, and to retaliate blood for blood. This obligation descended from one member of the family to another, until it often ended in the all but entire destruction of both families. Villages, entire communities, would take up the quarrel of their members against other villages, other communities, and thus, in the absence of a public foe, they massacred each other.

"I was told by a very intelligent Roman Catholic priest, cure of a remote country village, that the greater part of these funds were the result of jealousy. The general feeling was that any insult offered to a woman ought to be washed in the blood of the offender, by her male relatives, husband, father, brother. This sentiment, he said was so strong and general, that were the recent laws relaxed, there would be just as many assassinations as in former times, and, consequently, as many outlaws in the mountains. Indeed, if there was no male relative to avenge them, the Corsican women often revenged themselves." * * * * * *

"The inhabitants of the more Southern regions of continental Europe do not seem to possess, in the slightest degree, the roving, adventurous spirit of our countrymen. They do not understand our love for the picturesque, our readiness to undergo any amount of privation and fatigue in the endeavor to find it. I well remember one of the most accomplished, cultivated and refined Italian noblemen I have met with, saying to me that he could not comprehend the English going up a mountain merely to come down again. It appeared to him all but an act of insanity. He was ready to undergo any amount of fatigue or exertion for a geological or botanical purpose, but as to exhausting himself as we did, merely to look round him from the top of a mountain at naked rocks and arid stones, he could not do it, and did not understand its being done." * * * * *

"Children and dogs are first-rate physiognomists. The former instinctively, as it were, find out who really like them, and do not hesitate to make the first advances. A lost dog will scan the features of those who pass him in the street, and having determined, in his inner mind, that he has found a benevolently inclined human being, will follow him pertinaciously to his home—an attention which I have always considered to be a great compliment, if paid to myself. When I am travelling alone, I imitate both the children and the dogs. I scan the physiognomies of my fellow travellers, and when I have found one that is 'sympathic,' I make an advance, which I very seldom find repelled." * *

Dr. Bennet praises Mentone as the best winter resort in southern Europe for invalids from a colder climate. Of some other places he says:

"The climate of Catania in winter would probably suit those who require a sunny, temperate region, rather drier and more bracing than that of Palermo. To some the proximity of the king of European volcanoes, the strangeness of this volcanic soil, the facility with which, from it, other parts of the Mediterranean can be visited in spring or autumn, may appear a positive advantage, and incline them to choose Catania as their winter abode. The town appears to be exceptionally clean and open for a southern city. As yet, however, there is no special accommodation for invalid strangers, so that all the disadvantages of having to break new ground would have to be encountered. To the adventurous this is a pleasure, but I do not recommend those who have never travelled, those who are ill, or those who are dependent on English domestic comforts, to leave the beaten track. They are best in those parts of the continent which the English have long frequented, and which have thus been moulded to English tastes and requirements. There might be some little advantage, in an economical point of view, but it must be remembered that economy, on the Continent, is invariably connected with the absence of the comforts to which we, as a nation, are accustomed. The more comfortable, the more English a place becomes, the more expensive it also becomes. Morever, the further we go from home the greater the expense of reaching it, and the more difficult it is to get back, once, arrived at our destination." * * * * * * *

At Catania Dr. Bennett met a French physician, returning from a winter journey up the Nile. * *

"The physician gave me a minute account of his medical experience on the Nile, which quite confirmed my previous ideas on the subject. The nights are very cold, and on the river, in a frail boat, it is impossible not to feel it. The days are very hot, and as the boat is always then on the move, there is no escaping from the sun's rays. Then, as the boat is progressing from sunrise to sunset, exercise has to be taken after mooring, in the evening when a chest invalid ought to be shut up in a well-built house. This is the more disastrous, as no amount of resolution can induce even a confirmed invalid, who has been cooped up all day in a boat, to deny himself the luxury of a stretch when he stops at night, especially if there are all kinds of interesting monuments of past eras within a mile or two of the shore. This gentleman summed up his experience by saying, that a winter journey up the Nile was a most glorious excursion for a sound man, able to bear extremes of heat and cold, and to put up with occasional hardships, or even for those who, without actual disease, are tired, wearied by the labors and pleasures of town life; but that it was nothing short of insanity, for a confirmed consumptive patient to undertake such a journey He much regretted having sent patients there in the course of his previous career."

Good Words for January, edited by Dr. Norman, Macleod, and published by Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, editors. "Carlino," by the author of "Doctor Antonio;" "The Air-Mothers," by the Rev. Charles Kingsley; "Days in North India," by the Editor; "Lady Noel Byron;" "Dorothy Fox," by the author of "How it all Happened;" "Two Songs," by Jean Ingelow; "A visit to the Country of the Vaudois," by Samuel Smiles; "The Christianity of the Present and of the Future," by Henry Alford, D. D.; Our "Working People and how they Live," by "Good Words" Commissioner; "Work, A Dramatic Sketch," by the author of "Lady Grace;", "My Timepiece," A Poem, by the Rev. Charles [Tennyson] Turner; The French Reformatory of St. Michel, by F. M. T. Skene; Devoted Lives, by the Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, author of "Praying."

Mr. Turner's poem we quote:

MY TIMEPIECE.

An hour has struck its advent and farewell;
And hark! another hour begins to beat!
As when a crier stops and rings his bell,
To cry a loss—then on with busy feet
To raise the cry elsewhere; our precious hours
We lose, and balk them of their noblest use,
And so disable our best glits and powers,
Or leave them open to the Fiend's abuse;
Or, should I—the same moral to convey—
A more derisive apologue subjoin,
My clock's a mocking thief, who steals my coin,
Then, counting up the sum, as if to say,
"How many precious pieces I purloin!
One, two, three, four"—trips daintily away.

The *Phrenological Journal* for February contains biographical and critical sketches of George Washington, Confucius, the Chinese sage, "Father" Hyacinthe, Edwin M. Stanton, Clark M. Loomis, Victor M. Rice, Charles Babbage, the inventor-mathematician, Hon. J. Coogan; with portraits. Besides, What Can I Do Best; or, Man and his Tools; My Brother's Keeper, an Address by Vice-President Colfax; The Balondos, a Singular African Tribe, five illustrations; Brain Waves; or, An Incident in the Life of Dr. Wayland; Public Cheats, The "Blues," The Rich and the Poor, a Petrified Forest, The Turning Point, illustrated, Spectrum Analysis, Legal Education, Catarrh—Cause and Cure, Appetite—Its Sensualism, Theory of the Aurora Borealis.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NOV. 17TH, 1869, TO JAN. 1ST, 1870.

G. M. L. P. Jones,	2.00
E. T. James,	1.00
S. James,	1.00
Huldah Justice,	2.00
Lizzie B. Justice,	1.00
Annie Johnson,	1.00
Abby Kimber,	1.00
Jos. S. Longshore,	1.00
A. H. Love,	1.00
William E. Mathews,	1.00
Mary H. Newbold,	5.00
Emma Newbold,	5.00
Lydia Newbold,	3.00
M. C. Preston,	2.00
C. L. Peirce,	1.20
Joseph and Mary W. Post,	5.00
S. Pennock,	1.00
Charles W. Peirce,	10.50
E. Reeder,	1.00
Annie Shoemaker,	1.00
H. L. and M. Stickney,	1.00
Martha Shoemaker,	1.00
Wm. Still,	5.00
Mary Shoemaker,	1.00
Jane Simmons,	1.00
Samuel Sellers,	2.00
Jane B. Twining,	1.00
John K. Wildman,	10.00
M. K. Williamson,	1.00
Lydia White,	10.00
Mary A. Wright,	2.00
H. Walton,	50
S. S. A.	1.00
A Friend,	1.00
Stranger,	25
M. H. Anthony,	1.00
Mary Beans,	1.00
M. Buckman,	50
S. Bernard,	1.00
E. H. Corson,	1.00
Mary F. T. Connoro,	1.00
J. M. Cooper,	5.00
Dr. H. T. Child,	2 00
Edward M. Davis,	10.00
Nathan W. Ellis,	5.00
Sarah Ely,	2.00
Thomas Garrett,	5.00
Dr. Gregg,	3.00
Elizabeth Gregg,	2.00
Lydia Gillingham,	1.00
Annie Heacock,	1.00
Angelina Hambleton,	10.00
Gayner Heacock,	1.00
Hannah Holcomb,	1.00
Henry C. Hawkins,	1.00
D. Hegderhoff,	25
Mary S. Hillborn,	5.00
Various items marked "cash,"	17.35
L. P. Danforth,	3.00
Theodore Justice,	5.00
Henry Justice,	5.00
Henry M. Laing,	25.00
Richard Mott,	20.00
Henry C. Davis,	10.00
Dr. Neidhart,	5.00
Daniel Neall,	20.00
Edward T. and Anna J. Steel,	10.00
Lucretia Mott,	10.00
Mary Grew,	10.00
Margaret J. Burleigh,	5.00
John Longstreth,	6.00
Ann W. Longstreth,	5.00
C. L. Chaapel,	1.

Miscellaneous Department.

HOME.

BY BERNARD BARTON.

WHERE burns the loved hearth brightest,
Cheering the social breast?
Where beats the fond heart lightest,
Its humble hopes possessed?
Where is the smile of sadness,
Of meek-eyed patience born,
Worth more than those of gladness,
Which mirth's bright cheeks adorn?
Pleasure is marked by fleetness,
To those who ever roam;
While grief itself has sweetness
At home! dear home!

There blend the ties that strengthen
Our hearts in hours of grief;
The silver links that lengthen
Joy's visits when most brief;
There eyes in all their splendor,
Are vocal to the heart;
And glances gay or tender
Fresh eloquence impart;
Then dost thou sigh for pleasure?
O! do not widely roam;
But seek that hidden treasure
At *home!* dear *home!*

Does pure religion charm thee
Far more than aught below?
Wouldst thou that she should arm thee
Against the hour of woe?
Think not she dwelleth only
In temples built for prayer;
For home itself is lonely
Unless her smiles be there;
The devotee may falter,
The bigot blindly roam,
If worshipless her altar,
At *home!* dear *home!*

Love over it presideth,
With meek and watchful awe,
Its daily service guideth,
And shows its perfect law;
If there thy faith shall fail thee,
If there no shrine be found,
What can thy prayers avail thee,
With kneeling crowds around?
Go! leave thy gift unoffered—
Beneath religion's dome;
And be her first fruits proffered
At *home!* dear *home!*

EGYPT.

BY GEORGE W. SMALLEY.

LEAVING THE CANAL—EGYPTIAN MISERY.

CAIRO, Nov. 29th.—Since the night of the ball Cairo has been a literary workshop, where some hundreds of journalists have completed their histories of the canal inauguration. It was not till that had been done that many of us were at liberty to begin sight-seeing, and almost as soon as that was begun it had to be given up because it was time to go home. So great was the throng of guests and visitors that the streets of the city looked more European than Eastern. The Frank costumes were more numerous than the Oriental, and the city was no longer the true Cairo. I, for one, was not sorry to shut myself up for some days, and when I came out of my shell yesterday, it was a pleasure to find matters mended. There were glimpses of old Egypt just dawning out of the black-gray cloud that had covered it. The visitors had seen the sights and were hurrying away, the Viceroy nothing loth, I think, to see some of them go. The doorways of the hotels began to be placarded with notices that such and such steamers were at the disposal of the Khedive's guests, and with more or less readiness they abandoned Cairo for Alexandria. The great people have long been gone. I fear I have not given to the Emperors and Princes as much attention as belonged to them, nor registered their movements very minutely. It is too late to repair that fault. The truth is, I cared much about the canal, and little about the personages who lent the splendor of their titles and retinues to its opening, and so I missed the chance of embroidering your columns with many fine names, and much gossip about costumes and common-place festivities. It is more to my regret that I shall have little to say about Egypt. I leave Cairo to-morrow having, spent but a day and a half in the city since the days became free to me. I shall leave Egypt having seen little more—the Isthmus, of course, excepted—than the streets of its capital and the Pyramids. The unwearied generosity of the Viceroy has offered to some of us a voyage up the Nile to the first cataract, going and returning in a steamer, and accomplishing in three weeks what used to take six or seven or more. It is a little vexing to decline such an offer as that; all the more that I have no expectation of seeing Egypt again when once I have left it. But if I had the time for the Nile, which I have not, I believe I should still decline; and for the same reason which assures me that I shall never return. While the ceremonies of inauguration lasted, while there was the canal absorbing every thought, one had no moment to look at Egypt. Incessant excitements met us, and hurried us along, and gave us no taste of that repose which a traveler courts on coming to the East. The spell of the old enchanter was dissolved, and a more potent magician ruled, who, in place of lulling us to sleep, harassed us with new allurements keener than the busy life of Europe offered. But he wrought for the pleasure of his master, and when the Khédive bade him cease his work the genii that have swayed the minds of dwellers in the East for countless centuries came back to power. And their first act was to open the eyes of those who had not fled before them, so that they might see what the land and the people were like. It was my first glimpse of that life which fixed my resolve to leave Egypt at once and return to it never.

For Egypt is inexpressibly painful. Another Eastern country may be equally so, or more so; I know none of them. But in Egypt I saw for the first time a misery among the people that I could not endure. Heaven knows there is enough of it in Europe. A man need not leave London to find it; nor can he escape it in any city nor country. I had seen Ireland—you know what that is; I had seen French villages, where men and women work 16 hours a day on two meals of boiled greens; I had spent three months in Spain, the most wretched country of Europe, and counted one afternoon in the main street of Madrid, half a mile long, a hundred and forty-seven horrible beggars. But in Egypt it is obtrusive and oppressive, and at last intolerable. When I had taken one walk through certain quarters of Cairo, and had passed through Bonlak and Ghizeh on my way to the Pyramids, I had seen more than enough. Egypt is a country which has a past and a future. The Egypt of to-day is filled with horrors. She has had great rulers; Mehemet Ali was one. Said Pacha, who yielded the isthmus to Lesseps, was perhaps another. Ismail Pacha is known for a man of wide views, imbued with European ideas, as merciful to his people as circumstances allow him to be. But he cannot make Egypt new in a day, and I suppose he dare not even attempt what we should call a social reform. Till you have seen Egypt, you have no conception of what poverty is; the poverty which weighs not on individuals as a consequence of idleness or misfortune or want of work, but the poverty which is the heritage of a whole race of patient, industrious men and women. About's book on the Fellah, means to give the hopeful side—is a book written, they say, at the Viceroy's request, and paid for with the Viceroy's money. Well, About has not told the half nor the tenth of what any man may see in Egypt in a week, yet what he reveals unconsciously is the truest part of his story, and shows you at every step that unhappy Egypt which it was his business half to conceal and half to gild with the bright hopes that the Khedive has for his country in the future. A man may well try to believe what so energetic a ruler believes, but with all the faith in the world you will shrink from the sight of the actual Egypt. I would give something to forget what I saw—to forget, for instance, the swarms of children suffering, as almost every one does, from an ophthalmia that makes them the prey of clustering and festering flies. * * *—*N. Y. Tribune.*

ADVICE TO YOUNG ORATORS.

A contributor to the *N. Y. Evening Mail* presents the following:

The annexed letter from Wendell Phillips, our most finished orator, contains some valuable advice to young men about public speaking:

April, '68.

Dear Sir:—Your note came while I was out West. I hasten to reply now I'm at home. I think *practice* with all kinds of audiences the best teacher you can have. Think out your subject carefully, read all you can relative to them, *fill your mind*, and then talk simply and naturally to an audience. Forget altogether that you are going to make a speech or that you are making one. Absorb yourself into the idea that you are to strike a blow, carry out a purpose, effect an object, impress an idea, recommend a plan; then having forgotten yourself you will be likelier to do your best for your purpose. Study the class of books your mind likes; when you go outside of this rule study those which give you FACTS on your chosen subjects, and those which you find most suggestive. Remember to talk *up* to your audience not *down* to it; the commonest audience can relish the best thing you can say if you know how to say it properly. Your discipline heretofore (as a journalist), and if you continue it, is better than any college, especially at your age.

Be simple, be in earnest, and you will not fail to reach the masses, especially if your heart is large enough and sympathetic enongh to receive all truths and help all struggles. I think your plan of a Liberal church is excellent. Fit yourself for it by taking part in all the movements that interest the masses, and you'll succeed. God speed you.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE SOUL'S EAST WINDOW.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

MAN cannot be God's outlaw if he would,
Nor so abscond him in the caves of sense
But Nature still shall search some crevice out
With messages of splendor from that Source
Which, dive he, soar he, baffles still and lures.
This life were brutish did we not sometimes
Have intimation clear of wider scope,
Hints of occasion infinite, to keep
The soul alert with noble discontent
And onward yearnings of unstilled desire
Fruitless, except we now and then divined
A mystery of Purpose, gleaming through
The secular confusions of the world,
Whose will we darkly accomplish, doing ours.
No man can think nor in himself perceive,
Sometimes at waking, in the street sometimes,
Or on the hill-side, always unforewarned,
A grace of being finer than himself,
That beckons and is gone—a larger life
Upon his own impinging, with swift glimpse
Of spacious circles luminous with mind,
To which the etherial substance of his own
Seems but gross cloud to make that visible.
Touched to a sudden glory round the edge.
Who that hath known these visitations fleet
Would strive to make them trite and ritual?
I, that still pray at morning and at eve,
Loving those roots that feed us from the past.
And prizing more than Plato things I learned
At that best Academe, a mother's knee,
Thrice in my life perhaps have truly prayed,
Thrice, stirred below my conscious self, have felt
That perfect disenthralment which is God,
Nor know I which to hold worst enemy—
Him who on speculation's windy waste
Would turn me loose, stript of the raiment warm
By faith contrived against our nakedness,
Or him who, cruel kind, would fain obscure,
With painted saints and paraphrase of God,
The soul's east window of divine surprise.

—*The Cathedral.*

CONVERSATION DYING OUT.

"WHAT is becoming of conversation?" inquiring minds are beginning to ask. Is it to be classed among the lost arts of which Wendell Phillips discourses? Certainly, society is every day growing less and less capable of conversation, more and more wearisome to itself. Now, the strange thing about this is that almost all Americans are fluent talkers; American women are generally gifted with a fluency far surpassing that of French women, whom they equally surpass in information and intelligence. Why, then, have we no conversation—in society at least? Well, for one reason, because society (we are speaking now of New York) is afflicted with *tete a tete* practice, which seems absolutely to prohibit general conversation. Take a social gathering of New Yorkers, at which there are only six persons present, and what do you observe? Not six persons engaged in conversation, but three couples, distinct and separate, each couple occupied in a *tete a tete*. Of course, if the six people were always three couples of lovers this would be delightful; and if general conversation suffered the lovers would not much care. But these things do not usually thus arrange themselves; and there are very few people who can carry on a long talk, *tete a tete*, without tiring each other. Moreover, such a dialogue makes it necessary that there shall be no pause. You know that the moment your partner stops you must go on; and an iron necessity of this kind is the death of all true conversation. But let the six people talk together, one throwing the ball to his neighbor, who flings it on in his turn, and it is marvellous how bright and animated becomes the conversation of even very ordinary persons. No one feels that he must speak at a certain moment whether he likes it or not; and he must be very dull indeed if the ideas flashing around him do not fire him with some ideas of his own.

The splitting up of society into couples is a peculiarity which must strike a stranger very much in New York. People absolutely will not talk except in twos. A French lady, herself a mistress and a lover of good conversation, and for many years a resident of New York, has assured us that all her most strenuous and resolute efforts to introduce the system of general conversation in her own drawing-room, when only a social few are present, have proved an absolute failure. Even the experiment of gathering her guests round a circular table was unsuccessful. They would remain silent, or discourse in isolated couples. So she gave up the effort at reform. In the *salon* of her countrywoman, Madame Recamier, the rule was rigid that conversation must be general. Once, a young lady ventured on a remark in a low tone to a neighbor. Madame Recamier gently, but decisively, rebuked the offender. Some pitying friend came to the rescue, and pleaded that Mademoiselle was probably too modest to speak aloud in so distinguished a company. "But surely she is not too modest to listen," the hostess calmly replied. Now, we don't want all the rigor of the beautiful Recamier's rule; but a mild and modified application of it would be a great boon to New York.—*Nebulæ, in January Galaxy.*

AMERICANISM IN LITERATURE.

ONE of the best articles in the excellent initial number of the *Atlantic* for the new year is from the pen of Col. T. W. Higginson on "Americanism in Literature." We quote at length as follows:

"Better a thousand times train a boy on Scott's novels or the Border Ballads than educate him to believe, on the one side, that chivalry was a cheat and the troubadours imbeciles, and on the other hand, that universal suffrage is an absurdity and the one real need is to get rid of our voters. A great crisis like a civil war brings men temporarily to their senses, and the young resume the attitude natural to their years, in spite of their teachers; but it is a sad thing when, in seeking for the generous impulses of youth, we have to turn from the public sentiment of the colleges to that of the workshops and the farms.

"It is a thing not to be forgotten, that for a long series of years the people of our Northern States were habitually in advance of their institutions of learning, in courage and comprehensiveness of thought. There were long years during which the most cultivated scholar, so soon as he embraced an unpopular opinion, was apt to find the college doors closed against him, and only the country lyceum—the people's college—left open. Slavery had to be abolished before the most accomplished orator of the nation could be invited to address the graduates of his own university. The first among American scholars was nominated year after year, only to be rejected, before the academic societies of his own neighborhood. Yet during all that time the rural lecture associations showered their invitations on Parker and Phillips; culture shunned them, but the common people heard them gladly. The home of real thought was outside, not inside, the college walls. It hardly embarrassed a professor's position if he defended slavery as a divine institution; but he risked his place if he denounced the wrong. In those days, if by any chance a man of bold opinions drifted into a reputable professorship, we listened sadly to hear his voice grow faint. He usually began to lose his faith, his courage, his toleration,—in short, his Americanism,—when he left the ranks of the uninstructed.

That time is past; and the literary class has now come more into sympathy with the popular heart. It is perhaps fortunate that there is as yet but little *esprit de corps* among our writers, so that they receive their best sympathy, not from each other, but from the people. Even the memory of the most original author, as Thoreau, or Margaret Fuller Ossoli, is apt to receive its sharpest stabs from those of the same guild. When we American writers find grace to do our best, it is not so much because we are sustained by each other, as that we are conscious of a deep popular heart, slowly but surely answering back to ours, and offering a worthier stimulus than the applause of a coterie. If we once lose faith in our audience, the muse grows silent. Even the apparent indifference of this audience to culture and high finish may be in the end a wholesome influence, recalling us to those more important things, compared to which these are secondary qualities. The indifference is only comparative; our public prefers good writing, as it prefers good elocution; but it values energy, heartiness, and action more. The public is right; it is the business of the writer, as of the speaker, to perfect the finer graces without sacrificing things more vital. 'She was not a good singer,' says some novelist of his heroine, 'but she sang with an inspiration such as good singers rarely indulge in.' Given those positive qualities, and I think that a fine execution does not hinder acceptance in America, but rather aids it. Where there is beauty of execution alone, a popular audience, even in America, very easily goes to sleep. And in such matters, as the French actor, Samson, said to the young dramatist, 'sleep is an opinion.'

"It takes more than grammars and dictionaries to make a literature. 'It is the spirit in which we act that is the great matter,' Goethe says. '*Der Geist aus dem wir handeln ist das Höchste.*' Technical training may give the negative merits of style, as an elocutionist may help a public speaker by ridding him of tricks. But the positive force of writing or of speech must come from positive sources,—ardor, energy, depth of feeling or of thought. No instruction ever gave these, only the inspiration of a great soul, a great need, or a great people. We all know that a vast deal of oxygen may go into the style of a man; we see in it not merely what books he has read, what company he has kept, but also the food he eats, the exercise he takes, the air he breathes. And so there is oxygen in the collective literature of a nation, and this vital element proceeds above all else, from liberty. For want of this wholesome oxygen, the voice of Victor Hugo comes to us uncertain and spasmodic, as of one in an alien atmosphere where breath is pain; for want of it, the eloquent English tones that at first sounded so clear and bell-like now reach us only faint and muffled, and lose their music day by day. It is by the presence of this oxygen that American literature is to be made great. We are lost if we leave the inspiration of our nation's life to sustain only the journalist and the stump-speaker, while we permit the colleges and the books to be choked with the dust of dead centuries and to pant for daily breath.

"Perhaps it may yet be found that the men who are contributing most to raise the tone of American literature are the men who have never yet written a book and have scarcely time to read one, but by their heroic energy in other spheres are providing exemplars for what our books shall one day be. The man who constructs a great mechanical work helps literature, for he gives a model which shall one day inspire us to construct literary works as great. I do not wish to be forever outdone by the carpet-machinery of Clinton or the grain-elevator of Chicago. We have not yet arrived at our literature, —other things must come first; we are busy with our railroads, perfecting the vast alimentary canal by which the nation assimilates raw immigrants at the rate of half a million a year. We are not yet producing, we are digesting: food now, literary composition by-and-by: Shakespeare did not write 'Hamlet' at the dinner-table. It is of course impossible to explain this to foreigners, and they still talk of convincing, while we talk of dining.

"For one, I cannot dispense with the society which we call uncultivated. Democratic sympathies seem to be mainly a matter of vigor and health. It seems to be the first symptom of biliousness to think that only one's self and one's cousins are entitled to consideration, and constitute the world. Every refined person is an aristocrat is his dyspeptic moments; when hearty and well, he demands a wider range of sympathy. It is so tedious to live only in one circle and have only a genteel acquaintance! Mrs. Trench, in her delightful letters, complains of the society in Dresden, about the year 1800, because of 'the impossibility, without overstepping all bounds of social custom, of associating with any but *noblesse*.' We order that matter otherwise in America. I wish not only to know my neighbor, the man of fashion, who strolls to his club at noon, but also my neighbor, the wheelright, who goes to his dinner at the same hour. One would not wish to be unacquainted with the fa maiden who drives by in her basket-wagon in the afternoon; nor with the other fair maiden, who may be seen at her wash-tub in the morning. Both are quite wort knowing; both are good, sensible, dutiful girls: the young laundress is the better mathematician, because she has been through the grammar school; but the other has the better French accent, because she has spent half her life in Paris. They offer a variety, at least, and save from that monotony which besets any set of people when seen alone. There was much reason in Horace Walpole's coachman, who, having driven the maids of honor all his life, bequeathed his earnings to his son, on condition that he should never marry a maid of honor.

"I affirm that democratic society, the society of the future, enriches and does not impoverish human life, and gives more, not less, material for literary art. Distributing culture through all classes, it diminishes class-distinction and develops distinctions of personal character. Perhaps it is the best phenomenon of American life, thus far, that the word 'gentleman,' which in England still designates a social order, is here more apt to refer to personal character. When we describe a person as a gentleman, we usually refer to his manners, morals and education, not to his property or birth; and this change alone is worth the transplantation across the Atlantic. The use of the word 'lady' is yet more comprehensive, and therefore more honorable still; we sometimes see, in a shopkeeper's advertisement, 'Saleslady wanted.' Now the mere fashionable novelist loses terribly by the change, when all classes may wear the same dress-coat, what is left for him? But he who aims to depict passion and character gains in proportion; his material is increased tenfold. The living realities of American life ought to come in among the tiresome lay-figures of average English fiction like Steven Lawrence into the London drawing-room: tragedy must resume its grander shape, and no longer turn on the vexed question whether the daughter of this or that matchmaker shall marry the baronet. It is the characteristic of a real book that, though the scene be laid in courts, their whole machinery might be struck out and the essential interest of the plot remain the same. In Auerbach's 'On the Heights,' for instance, the social heights might be abolished and the moral elevation would be enough. The play of human emotion is a thing so absorbing, that the petty distinctions of cottage and castle become as nothing in its presence. Why not waive these small matters in advance, then, and go straight to the real thing?

"The greatest transatlantic successes which American novelists have yet attained—those won by Cooper and Mrs. Stowe—have come through a daring Americanism of subject, which introduced in each case a new figure to the European world,—first the Indian, then the negro. Whatever the merit of the work, it was plainly the theme which conquered. Such successes are not easily to be repeated, for they were based on temporary situations, never to recur. But they prepare the way for higher triumphs to be won by a profounder treatment,—the introduction into literature, not of new tribes alone, but of the American spirit. To analyze combinations of character that only our national life produces, to portray dramatic situations that belong to a clearer social atmosphere,—this is the higher Americanism. Of course, to cope with such themes in such a spirit is less easy than to describe a foray or a tournament, or to multiply indefinitely such still-life pictures as the stereotyped English or French society affords; but the thing when once done is incomparably nobler. It may be centuries before it is done: no matter. It will be done, and with it will come a similar advance along the whole line of literary labor, like the elevation which we have seen in the whole quality of scientific work in America, within the past twenty years.

"We talk idly about the tyranny of the ancient classics, as if there were some special peril about it, quite distinct from all other tyrannies. But if a man is to be stunted by the influence of a master, it makes no difference whether that master lived before or since the Christian epoch. One folio volume is as ponderous as another, if it crush down the tender germs of thought. There is no great choice between the volumes of the Encyclopædia. It is not important to know whether a man reads Homer or Dante: the essential point is whether he believes the world to be young or old; whether he sees as much scope for his own inspiration as if never a book had appeared in the world. So long as he does, he has the American spirit; no books, no travel, can overwhelm him, but these can only enlarge his thoughts and raise his standard of execution. When he loses this faith, he takes rank among the copyists and the secondary, and no accident can raise him to a place among the benefactors of mankind. He is like a man who is frightened in battle: you cannot exactly blame him, for it may be an affair of the temperament or of the digestion; but you are glad to let him drop to the rear, and to close up the ranks. Fields are won by those who believe in the winning."

RUINS IN CHINA.—The ruins which have been discovered in Cambodia, Cochin China, says the *Revue Coloniale et Maritime*, proves that the inhabitants must at one time have been as highly civilized as they are now debased. Remains of sculpture have been discovered rivaling those produced in Greece in its best days. Well-built bridges have been discovered in many parts, and the expedition conducted by M. de Lagree found remains of the same and other constructions as far as the fifteenth degree of north latitude. So extensive and numerous are these remains that they are considered to prove beyond dispute that at the time when they were built the country must have been densely populated by people rich and prosperous to a very high degree; indeed, there is positive evidence of the fact in the writings of a Chinese traveller, who speaks with warm admiration of the lavish manner in which gold was employed in the decorations of their monuments.

YEARNINGS FOR THE AFTERWORLD.

How many thousand human hearts once yearned,
In Egypt, in Eleusis, on the Indus,—
Yearned for the afterworld,—Elysium!
They longed one day only to see its sun,
To pluck one rose from that celestial spring,—
And then contentedly lie down and—die.
Deep in this longing lay the simple wish
For life eternal;—that Humanity,
That fair Humanity might live and love
Forevermore in an unfading spring.
In the bright realm of an unsetting sun!
Be it so! Ye mummies! be as men who died
With joy! be dead with joy! the earliest
And latest generations by one heart
Are linked together! Therefore do I now,
Like to a herald of the ages, send
To your old world a loud and joyful cry:—
We are! Humanity has gained the shore
For which you once embarked! from holy heaven
Shines down on us even now the eternal Sun,
Blooms round the earth that everlasting spring.
Love lives! The living have their life in love,
And they that love live blest,—around us blooms
The golden grove of the Hesperides.
The Universe is ours! And ours is God!
The rose still lives upon its flaming bush!
The little violet hath not passed away!
The lark hath still the song and look of old,
Still the white snow-drop has the same green stripes!
And even the glow-worm's little lamp at night
That trails along the shadow of the grass
Is not yet quenched,—far less the stars on high!—
With joy we live,—be ye then dead with joy!
And as ye doubted of an afterworld
Not doubt! And as ye loved your passing world
So fervently and wept so for its loss,
And painted it for us so gloriously,
That world of yours we truly first possess!
And so two heavens at once encompass us!
And in the present, in these realms of space,
Lies a great deep,—immeasurably deep!
And in the immensity, within the heart,
Within the spirit lies our blessedness,—
In one man's life all ages lie contained!

—*Leopold Schefer—Layman's Breviary.*

A German paper says that the simplest post-office in the world is to be found on the Southern extremity of America. For some years past a small barrel has been fastened by an iron chain to the outermost rock of the mountains overhanging the Straits of Magellan, opposite Terra del Fuego. It is opened by every ship which passes through the Straits, either to place letters in it or to take letters from it. This post-office, therefore, takes care of itself, it is confided to the protection of seafarers, and there is no example of any breach of this trust having occurred. Each ship undertakes the voluntary transmission of the contents of the barrel if their destination is within the limits of its voyage.

THE Obelisk of Luxor, which stands in La-Place Concorde, Paris, has become blanched and full of small cracks during the forty years it has spent in France, while forty centuries in Egypt had not preceptibly altered it. Climate affects the very hardest of building stone, as well as organic creatures. Dampness promotes the growth of plants which we look upon as insignificant; such as mosses, lichens, and fungi. So far from being insignificant, these lower orders of the vegetable kingdom have the function of applying themselves directly to the rocks to crumble them down into soil. Lichens, for example, secrete oxalic acid, and thus corrode the rocks over which they spread themselves. There is a microscopically minute fungus, which, in most places, flourishes in granite, and gradually promotes its disintegration.

COLERIDGE, in one of the most beautiful similes, illustrates the pregnant truth, that the more we love the more instinctive our sympathy: "The water lily, in the midst of waters, opens its leaves and expands its petals at the first pattering of showers; and rejoices in the rain drops with a quicker sympathy than the parched shrub in the sandy desert."

Advertisements.

PACIFIC RAILWAY GOLD LOAN.

MESSRS. DABNEY, MORGAN & Co., 53 Exchange Place, and M. K. JESUP & Co., 12 Pine Street, N. Y., offer for sale the Bonds of the Kansas Pacific Railway. These Bonds pay seven per cent. in Gold; have thirty years to run; are Free from Government Taxation; are secured by a Land Grant of Three Million Acres of the Finest Lands in Kansas and Colorado. In addition to this special grant the Company also owns Three Millions of Acres in Kansas, which are being rapidly sold to develop the country and improve the road. They are a first mortgage upon the extension of the road from Sheridan, Kansas, to Denver, Colorado. The road in operation 437 miles long upon which it is also a mortgage *now earns more than enough net income to pay the interest on the new loan.* There is no better security in the market—this being in some respects better than Government Securities. *Principal and Interest payable in Gold.* Price 96, and accrued Interest, in Currency. Pamphlets, Maps and Circulars furnished on application.

Our Illustrated Catalogue of School

Material for 1869 and 1870 represents Apparatus, Books, Charts, Globes, Maps, and SCHOOL FURNITURE, of several superior modern styles, and many other "Articles for every School." Mailed on demand with stamp.

J. W. Schermerhorn & Co.,
Publishers and Manufacturers,
14 Bond Street, New York.

Ayer's
Hair Vigor,
For restoring Gray Hair to its natural Vitality and Color.

A dressing which is at once agreeable, healthy, and effectual for preserving the hair. *Faded or gray hair is soon restored to its original color with the gloss and freshness of youth.* Thin hair is thickened, falling hair checked, and baldness often, though not always, cured by its use. Nothing can restore the hair where the follicles are destroyed, or the glands atrophied and decayed. But such as remain can be saved for usefulness by this application. Instead of fouling the hair with a pasty sediment, it will keep it clean and vigorous. Its occasional use will prevent the hair from turning gray or falling off, and consequently prevent baldness. Free from those deleterious substances which make some preparations dangerous and injurious to the hair, the Vigor can only benefit but not harm it. If wanted merely for a

HAIR DRESSING,

nothing else can be found so desirable. Containing neither oil nor dye, it does not soil white cambric, and yet lasts long on the hair, giving it a rich glossy lustre and a grateful perfume.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co.,
PRACTICAL AND ANALYTICAL CHEMISTS,
LOWELL, MASS.
PRICE $1.00.

THE FIFTIETH VOLUME!!

NEW SERIES! NEW FORM!!

THE PICTORIAL

PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL,

A FIRST CLASS

FAMILY MAGAZINE,

Specially devoted to the "SCIENCE OF MAN, his improvement," by all the means indicated by *Science.*

Phrenology.—The Brain and its Functions; the Location and Natural Language of the Organs, with directions for cultivating and restraining them; and the relations subsisting between Mind and Body described.

Physiognomy, with the "Signs of Character and How to Read them," is a special feature.

Ethnology, or THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.—Customs, Religions and Modes of Life in different Tribes and Nations, will be given.

Physiology & Anatomy.—The Organization, Structure and Functions of the Human Body; the Laws of Life and Health—What we should Eat and Drink, How we should be Clothed, and How to Exercise, Sleep and Live, presented in a popular manner, in accordance with Hygienic Principles.

Portraits, Sketches and Biographies of the leading Men and Women of the World in all departments of life are special features.

Parents and Teachers.—As a guide in educating and training Children, this Magazine has no superior, as it points out all the peculiarities of Character and Disposition, and renders government and classification not only possible but easy.

Much general and useful Information on the leading topics of the day is given, and no efforts are spared to make this the most interesting and instructive as well as the Best Pictorial Family Magazine ever published.

Established.—The Journal has reached its 50th VOLUME, and with January Number, 1870, a NEW SERIES is commenced. The form has been changed from a Quarto to the more convenient Octavo, and many improvements have been made. It has steadily increased in favor during the many years it has been published, and was never more popular than at present.

Terms.—Monthly, at $3.00 a year, in advance. Single numbers, 30 cents. Clubs of ten or more, $2.00 each, and an extra copy to agent; or *The Journal* ($3.00) and *The Christian Union* ($2.50), H. W. Beecher's paper, sent to new subscribers for $4.00.

are offering the most liberal Premiums. Inclose 15 cents for a sample number, with new Pictorial Poster and Prospectus, and a complete List of Premiums. Address,

S. R. WELLS, Publisher,
389 Broadway, New York.
36-4t.

TO THE SICK.—A CURE.

Established Twenty-Four Consecutive Years.

Acute and Chronic Diseases treated without Medicines, and permanently cured.

PROFF A. FERGUSON DUREENBURY, CALEB C. DUREENBURY, Magnetic-Movement and Water Cure Physicians. No. 29 West Ninth street, between 5th and 6th avenues, New York City.

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

VOL. XXX. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

AARON M. POWELL, EDITOR.

THE STANDARD advocates entire freedom and immediate enfranchisement for the colored race, as the demand of justice. Chattelism has been abolished, but equal freedom for the colored race has not yet been secured.

Eminent writers contribute weekly to its columns, and the Editor is permitted to announce

WENDELL PHILLIPS

as a Special Editorial Contributor. Full reports will also be published of the Addresses of MR. PHILLIPS, revised and corrected by himself.

THE STANDARD, though chiefly devoted to the consideration of the Freedom and well-being of the colored race, will, as hitherto, hospitably entertain the claims of movements of a kindred end and aim, as the Rights of Women, Temperance, Education, etc. It will also present a department of choice Literary Miscellany. It is intended that, without forgetting its main object, THE STANDARD shall be carefully and thoroughly edited in all its other departments, and be welcomed by all classes of readers.

MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

WAYLAND, MASS., Feb. 1, 1868.

AARON M. POWELL—*Dear Sir*—Inclosed is $3.00, our yearly subscription for THE STANDARD. Money cannot pay for the privilege of having a paper that speaks the truth boldly, without fear or favor, alike unfettered by sect, and untrammeled by any political party. Such a paper was never more needed than at the present time, and I am thankful to see that so many friends rally to its support. Yours, cordially,

L. MARIA CHILD.

PREMIUMS.

We offer to our friends what we are sure will be esteemed very liberal and welcome compensation for their efforts to add to our subscription list, namely: to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6) we will send either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters." 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's "Romance of the Republic." 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court." 408 pages—price $2.50.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

One Copy, One Year,	$3 00
Ten Copies to one Address, each	2 50
Twenty Copies, each,	2 00

A limited number of Advertisements will be received at the following rates:

One line, first insertion,	15 cents
" each subsequent insertion,	10 "
" one month,	40 "
" three months,	$1 00
" one year,	3 00
Special Notices, per line,	20 cents.

Special arrangements will be made with yearly advertisers.

Subscriptions and advertisements payable in advance. Yearly advertisements, quarterly in advance.

Single Copies of THE STANDARD may be had of the American News Company, 121 Nassau Street, and at the Office of Publication.

All communications should be addressed to,

A. M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau Street, New York.

RAPID SALE!

25,000 Already in Use.
The Demand Increasing!

THE

CHORAL TRIBUTE!

BY L. O. EMERSON.

Choristers and Singers unanimously agree that it surpasses all other works of Church Music by this popular author.

(Until November 1—Clergymen, Choristers and Teachers who have not yet examined this valuable work, will be supplied with a single copy at $1.25, postage paid).

Price $1.50. $13.50 per dozen.

OLIVER DITSON & CO., Publishers,
277 Washington St., Boston.

CHAS. H. DITSON & CO.,
Broadway, New York.

WATERS'
NEW SCALE PIANOS,
With Iron Frame, Overstrung Bass and Agraffe Bridge.

MELODEONS AND CABINET ORGANS.

The best Manufactured. Warranted for six years.

Pianos, Melodeons and Organs. PRICES GREATLY REDUCED FOR CASH. New 7-Octave Pianos for $275 and upward. New Cabinet Organs for $45 and upward. Second-hand instruments from $40 to $175. Monthly instalments received, and instruments for rent. Warerooms, 481 Broadway, New York.

EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE,
PARIS, 1868.
AWARDED:

1st—ONE (of the five) GRAND PRIZE.

"Material for the Relief of the wounded in the war of 1861 IN THE DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION
The Highest Expression of the Imperial Commission.

2d—Bronze Medal (exclusive cast) and Diploma.

DR. E. D. HUDSON,

FOR ARTIFICIAL LIMBS (Legs and Arms.)

By the International Jury, PARIS, 1867.

LE CONSEILLER D'ETAT, Commissaire General, F. LE PLAY. | LE MINISTRE, Vice-Pres't de la Com. Imperiale, CH. FOREADE.

REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSIONER, T. W. EVANS, M. D., MEMBER OF THE JURY OF THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION, TO THE UNITED STATES. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. To wit:

DR. HUDSON has received from the IMPERIAL COMMISSION a BRONZE MEDAL and DIPLOMA, for the limbs sent by him, which have been particularly admired, and are in execution unquestionably the most remarkable in the Exposition." (The only Limbs which had the award of the Medal.)

TESTIMONIAL OF THE
CONFERENCE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SANITARY COMMISSION
AT THE EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, PARIS, 1867.

IN THE NAME OF THE CONFERENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS,

"I have the honor to inform you that a MEDAL has been awarded to you, by the Assembly of Delegates at the Distinguished Seance of the 31st of August, 1867—for the services which you have rendered to the cause of Universal Humanity.

PARIS, September 8th, 1868.

COUNT SCHUYLER,
Commissioner General of the International Exposition
President of the Conference.

COUNT G. de CHABOLY, T. GAUVIY. } General Secretaries.

To Monsieur Hudson."

E. D. HUDSON, M. D., 696 BROADWAY, N. Y.
Specialty of Mechanical Surgery, and Artificial Legs and Arms.
21 tf

PUBLISHING AND BOOK FURNISHING AGENCY.

THE undersigned respectfully announces that he still continues his PUBLISHING AND BOOK FURNISHING AGENCY and is prepared to execute all orders that may be intrusted to him, with care and promptness. Authors desiring a publisher, or wishing their works superintended while in press, will do well to confer with him, as his experience in the business and established connections, afford peculiar facilities for the furtherance of their interests. Works of all established authors furnished at the shortest notice and at the lowest rates. Office 39 Nassau street, Room 43.

P. O. Box 1416, New York city.

WILLIAM P. TOMLINSON.

S. LASAR, NO. 80 CEDAR STREET, N. Y.
Notary Public for the State of New York, and Commissioner of States and territories, etc., etc